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ENGLAND AND AMERICA.

IN the present difficult and anxious crisis the speeches delivered in both Houses of Parliament on the question at issue with America are in the highest degree satisfactory, showing the unanimous determination of the country to resist an unjustifiable demand. Lord DERBY and Mr. DISRAELI, in accordance with the traditional practice of English statesmen, abstained from throwing any impediment in the way of the firm and prudent policy announced by the Government in the Speech from the Throne. Lord GRANVILLE, always courteous, was also firm and decided; and even Mr. GLADSTONE, in language which has been criticized as going beyond the necessities of the occasion, showed that his blood was stirred at last. It is scarcely worth while to pursue Mr. DISRAELI's inquiry as to the exact date of the communication which has been forwarded to Washington. In matters of detail the Government has a right to exercise a latitude of discretion corresponding to the greatness of its responsibility. Lord GRANVILLE says that the advantages and disadvantages of various forms of communication were carefully considered, and Mr. GLADSTONE observed that the first words in the discussion are not necessarily the last. There could be no impropriety in a fortnight's delay; and perhaps it may have been well that the state of English feeling and opinion should be known in the United States before it became necessary to deal with official despatches. The American Government and Senate had announced their intention of waiting for the QUEEN'S Speech before arriving at any decision, and it may be hoped that the debates on the meeting of Parliament will also be carefully studied. On this occasion they will find that while, as on all former occasions, Parliament is anxious, even at the cost of considerable sacrifices, to appease American hostility, there is neither hesitation nor difference of opinion as to the necessity of making a stand. Mr. GLADSTONE relies on the language of the Treaty, taken in connexion with the Protocols, and interpreted by the speeches of Lord GRANVILLE and Lord RIPON, and by the subsequent silence of the American Government; but he also remarks that, if any verbal ambiguity could be established, the impossibility that the American claim could have been submitted by an English Government to arbitration is in itself conclusive. In Mr. DISRAELI's words, "the American Case demands from this country a tribute greater than could be exacted by conquest, which would be perilous to our fortunes and fatal to our fame." Mr. GLADSTONE adds that the sum demanded is greater than the penalty imposed by Germany on France, which was itself ten times as great as any similar payment recorded in history. The people of the United States must be well aware that Mr. GLADSTONE is passionately, if not excessively, devoted to the cause of peace; and he only expresses the universal feeling of his countrymen when he declares that, "if there is one country to which we are willing to give more, and from which we are willing to exact less, that country is the United States of America." The most pacific of Ministers nevertheless reserves "the right to fall back on the plea that a man or a nation must be taken to be insane, if supposed to admit in a peaceful arbitration claims which not even the last extremities of war and the lowest depths of misfortune would force a people with a spark of spirit, with the hundredth part of the traditions or courage of the people of this country, to submit to at the point of death." The Americans may perhaps be excused for contending in the first instance that, if the claims are unreasonable, they will be rejected by the Tribunal; but a party to a controversy who submits the dispute to arbitration must be understood to admit that the decision may possibly confirm and enforce the utmost demands of his adversaries. If the Treaty had been intended to in-

clude a reference of the claims since advanced by the United States, the negotiators must, as Mr. GLADSTONE urges, have voluntarily conceded more than could be extorted by a conqueror.

The *New York Herald* declares that the American people will require the utmost damages which the arbitrators may award, and that, if necessary, they will extort payment at the point of the bayonet; and it is asserted in recent telegrams that the Washington Government is determined to adhere to the position it has taken. But there is no need to pay attention to insolent menaces or unauthenticated rumours; and in general the answers of the principal American papers to the English comments on the Statement of Claims confirm the conjecture that they would be utterly taken by surprise. The vituperative language and the monstrous demands of the American agents were regarded by their countrymen, with or without approval, as empty bluster. It is impossible that there should have been no speculation on the probable reception of the document in England, if the people of the United States had supposed that they were preferring a serious claim for three or four hundred millions sterling. Their explanations of the official statement are evidently extemporized at a moment's notice, as when it is asserted that the indirect damages were intended to be set off against any unreasonable demands which might be preferred by English traders. It is certain that if the arbitration had proceeded on the basis adopted by the American agents, the Tribunal of Geneva would have awarded or refused damages without reference to the litigation which might be simultaneously proceeding at Washington. The leaders of opinion in the United States will now have had time to reconsider their position, and it will be well if they adhere to the just and pacific feelings which prevailed two months ago; but there is too much reason to fear that the Government will be encouraged to persevere in its aggressive course. The strong and unanimous expression in England of surprise and alarm, and the unexpected warmth of the PRIME MINISTER's language, will furnish a plausible cause of offence. Some Americans have not unreasonably remonstrated against the public discussion of issues which are to be tried before a competent tribunal; but it was scarcely possible to ascertain the scope of the arbitration without touching incidentally on the merits of the case. The tone and language of the American Statement of Claims were proper subjects of protest, even if they had been used in support of the most moderate demands. Above all, it has been necessary and opportune to examine into the extent and meaning of the reference. No arbitrator is a final judge of his own powers, and, in the absence of a superior tribunal, the litigant Governments alone can deal with any difference of opinion as to the preliminary question. On the extreme supposition of an award condemning the English Government in the full amount of damages claimed by the Americans, the inevitable refusal to comply with the decision would have borne the semblance of bad faith; yet the American negotiators were well aware that the payment of any damages which might be awarded was necessarily contingent on the sanction of Parliament; and they cannot have expected that the House of Commons would vote three hundred millions to be paid in tribute, until a dozen English counties were, like French departments, occupied by a hostile army. It is on all accounts better that the probable failure of the Treaty should be acknowledged before the commencement of the arbitration.

When the immediate excitement has subsided, no reasonable American will deny that the unfortunate misunderstanding which has occurred was compatible with perfect sincerity on the part of England. The laxity of the wording of the Treaty might suggest an ambiguity, if it had been possible that the English members of the High Commission should have agreed

to the ruinous surrender which would be implied in the American version of the arrangement. The explanations of the Treaty which were given by Lord GRANVILLE and Lord RIXON in answer to Lord RUSSELL's speech and motion gave an official interpretation of the sense in which the Treaty was understood by the English Government. The PRESIDENT and his Ministers might indeed contend that they were not bound by any statement of the opposite party; but the contemptuous irony which would have been involved in deliberate, though tacit, encouragement of a misconception, would not be worthy of a powerful Government. That the Ministerial explanation was allowed to pass without diplomatic comment or objection is proved by the passionless forensic statement which was afterwards prepared for the arbitration. If Lord GRANVILLE and Lord RIXON were mistaken, the American Minister in England or the Secretary of State ought in common courtesy and fairness at once to have corrected the error. The unambitious English draughtsmen seem to have taken for their guidance rather the assumed intention of both parties than the words of the Treaty. In some instances, perceiving that the terms of the *ex post facto* law might possibly render a neutral liable for the operations of traders in contraband, the framers of the English Statement are compelled to rely on a voluntary waiver of the advantages which might have been derived from a too precipitate concession. The American Government, having since the civil war permitted the uncontrolled supply of arms to belligerents, thought it prudent to announce that they would not insist on the clause which prohibited a neutral from furnishing military stores and equipments. The wording of the Second Article of the Treaty itself is not creditable to the English negotiators. If the clause is construed by itself, there is nothing to prevent the American counsel from claiming damages for the War of Independence, for the war of 1812, or for any of the numerous grievances which have been devised by a litigious neighbour during times of nominal peace. It has also been pointed out that the First Article, which, with the rest of the Treaty, was evidently dictated by the American Commissioners, is copied word for word from Mr. HAMILTON FISH's offensive dispatch to Lord CLARENDON. The American Government will probably contend that phrases which were on the former occasion used in support of hostile and extortionate demands ought not even by English simplicity to have been understood in an innocent sense. It was not in this manner that negotiations were conducted by the agents of GRENVILLE, of CASTLEREAGH, of CANNING, or of PALMERSTON. Future diplomatists may learn from the disastrous miscarriage of Washington that abject submission is not even gainful, and that cowardice may be rasher than courage.

It is unfortunately impossible to acquit Parliament or the community at large of the involuntary complicity which consists in acquiescence. The House of Commons, which prattled and wrangled for months over the Purchase Bill and the Ballot Bill, never found a day for the discussion of one of the most momentous of international transactions. It was enough that American rancour was thought to have been at last appeased; and any disposition to criticize the method of settlement was effectively removed by the participation in the Treaty of a recognized leader of the Opposition. Scarcely a single public speaker, and only one or two political writers, condemned the servile policy which, as they nevertheless believed, might have attained its immediate object. To the illusion which has now been rudely dispelled the admirers and the opponents of the Treaty were equally subject. There was probably not a single Englishman who suspected that the American statement of claims would include a demand for the cost of the pretended prolongation of the war. Even travellers and residents in the United States shared in the universal belief that the controversy was practically settled. Excessive confidence in the justice and good faith of the American Government may have been a proof of weakness; nor was there any reason why the meaning which was attached by the English Commissioners to the Treaty should not have been distinctly expressed. The vehemence which the American papers now denounce as unseemly represents a natural reaction, but it is idle to revive the fabulous statement that the Treaty was a statesmanlike example of mutual concession. American apologists may perhaps succeed in showing that the Statement of Claims is not inconsistent with the letter of the Treaty; but the temper and manner of the demand can only have been dictated by deliberate ill-will. Mr. SUMNER's invective against England had previously been surpassed in acrimony by Mr. FISH's despatch; but both competitors must yield to the superiority of Mr. BANCROFT DAVIS, Mr. CUSHING, and Mr.

BEAMAN. It remains to be seen whether the American politicians and jurists who have condemned Mr. SUMNER's pretensions will extend their censure to the malignant composition of the agents for the arbitration. The language which has been already used in the American Senate is, as might be expected, angry and menacing; but there is reason to believe that the issue raised by the English Government has not been clearly understood. There is no question of repudiating a treaty, and there is also a positive determination to abide by its genuine meaning and purport. During the long controversy of eleven years England has hitherto always been divided in opinion, but

Now these her parties are come home again

nought shall make us rue
If England to itself do rest but true.

THE MEETING OF PARLIAMENT.

PARLIAMENT met on Tuesday full of anxiety to know the truth with regard to the Treaty of Washington, and to see how far the Cabinet had set itself with promise of success to surmount the innumerable difficulties that beset it. The beginning of the new Session was by no means reassuring. Bad as Queen's Speeches are expected to be, it was impossible to suppose that a speech could be framed so slovenly in style, so confused, so utterly inadequate. Fortunately, the only very important paragraph in it, that relating to the difference of opinion between England and the United States as to the scope of the Treaty of Washington, was carefully and judiciously worded. It left no doubt that England understood that the claims for indirect damages were excluded, while it forbore from reproaches and from any expressions that might make further friendly negotiations impossible. But almost the whole of the rest of the Speech was bad. It was full of blunders and inelegancies of language that were perfectly astonishing. It gave little of the information which it seemed intended to offer, and it introduced mysteries and suggested puzzles where clearness seemed the simplest thing in the world. After a preamble, in which it was announced that, on the Thanksgiving Day, the "necessary" accommodation would be afforded to members of Parliament in the "Metropolitan" Cathedral, it proceeded to select as its first topic of importance the Slave Trade in the Southern Seas, and events were depicted with an obscurity akin to the darkness of those benighted regions. Pronouns were distributed at haphazard, and it was left to the ingenuity of hearers or readers to decide whether they should be supposed to refer to islands, Englishmen, or nefarious practices. Bills, it was announced, would be introduced to punish persons guilty of this trade, and endeavours will be made to "increase in other forms the means of counteraction." Perhaps clever persons in Australia, the country principally concerned, may be able to guess what this means, but to Englishmen such phrases only suggest that the use of the QUEEN's Speech is to conceal the thoughts of the Government. Canadians, too, are offered a puzzle of their own, for they will read with interest that the provisions of the Treaty of Washington which require the consent of the Parliament of Canada "await its assembling." One part of the Speech was so supereminently absurd that Mr. GLADSTONE had to explain that two of the paragraphs had been accidentally transposed. The QUEEN was made to say in her Speech that several measures of administrative improvement for Ireland would be laid before Parliament; in particular a Bill, having for its main object the establishment of secret voting, would be immediately presented—language which seemed, as Mr. DISRAELI said, to imply that the Ballot Bill was only intended to apply to Ireland. With regard to Mr. GLADSTONE's explanation of how this blunder came about we may observe—and the observation may be extended to the minor blunders and inaccuracies of the Speech—that Ministers ought not to be guilty of that amount of negligence which is involved in putting into the mouth of the QUEEN language so unworthy of her. It may of course be assumed that the Speech, such as it was read—transposed paragraphs and all—was the Speech of which she approved. She has no choice, or, at any rate, from the remoteness of her residence from the seat of Government, she gives herself no choice. She approves on Monday in the Isle of Wight what is to be published to all the world in London on Tuesday. But it is specially hard on her that this jumble of obscure and ill-chosen phrases should be put into her mouth. Any one who has read her Journal must know

that she herself writes in the clearest, simplest manner possible; and her subjects may be quite sure that if her Ministers had asked her to say for them what they meant to say, the Speech would have been written in good plain English, and its paragraphs would not have been transposed.

The first duty of Parliament on its reassembling is to choose a new Speaker. The leaders of both parties could honestly and cordially join in a testimony to the services which Mr. DENISON has rendered to the House while he has occupied the Chair; and although the address to the QUEEN praying that she will make Mr. DENISON a peer is a mere matter of form, yet it is perhaps worth while to draw the attention of the public to the fact that a peerage is sometimes deserved. The SPEAKER has declined to accept the pension usually given to retiring Speakers, on the ground that he will feel happier during the rest of his life if he is not a burden on his countrymen; but it is no burden on a country to pay its officials properly, and every precedent of a rich man offering to work at a lower figure than poor men can accept ought to be very jealously watched. The principal measures of the Session are exactly what might have been anticipated, and the Ministry has done wisely in limiting as much as possible the area of its labours. To the measures which were matters of course the only addition is a proposed Bill for dealing with the higher Courts of Justice and Appeal. This is a measure very much wanted, and, as it will naturally be introduced in the House of Lords, need not add much to the real business of the Ministry; but the CHANCELLOR has hitherto shown himself so entirely incompetent to conceive measures of Law Reform combining width of view with knowledge of details, that it is difficult to suppose his Bill will do much good unless abler men among the law lords will show themselves possessed of enough public spirit to shape his measure for him, so that it may ultimately assume a satisfactory form. The difficult subject of Irish education was passed over in silence in the Speech, but the Ministry subsequently explained that they only refused to take up the question because they had not time to deal with it, and that they would deal with it this Session if they could dispose of other business more quickly than they expected. They thus give it to be inferred that their policy with regard to Irish education is determined; and it is tolerably certain that they will not find it practicable to leave it in doubt until the end of the Session what their determination is. The debates on the Scotch Education Act and on the proposed remodelling of the English Act must force them to indicate how, in their opinion, Irish education is to be dealt with, even if the early introduction of Mr. FAWCETT's Bill with regard to the Dublin University does not oblige them to be explicit. The Speech was also silent on all that concerns the Army and Navy, and this silence naturally provoked the comments of Opposition speakers. The fact is that the whole administration of the Army and Navy is in such a complete mess, and the members of the Cabinet to whose province the superintendence of their administration belongs are so bewildered, and find everything under their management going on in such a confused and chaotic way, that the Cabinet spares all reference to the two services as long as it can, and is quite right in doing so. Sensible men, when they know that there is a weak point in their case, say as little about it as possible.

The notices of motion and the speeches on the Address show that this Session will be marked by a very important change as compared with last Session. The Opposition is now prepared to act as an Opposition—to criticize the acts and measures of the Government, and to try its strength in divisions. The Yorkshire election occurred on the very day on which Parliament met, in time to infuse fresh vigour and inspire new hopes in the Conservative party, and the Yorkshire election was only the last in a series which shows that the Government has rapidly lost ground in the country. It is a great misfortune when the Opposition is so beaten down and hopeless that it ceases to fulfil its proper functions. The less responsible members of the party out of office take upon themselves to do the work of criticism, and necessarily do it in a very imperfect manner; they have no authority, and do little else than obstruct the passing of Ministerial measures by sheer waste of time. But this is by no means the worst consequence of the abeyance of the regular Opposition. The nation loses the benefit of having the true bearing of important acts of the Government pointed out to it, and does not understand and appreciate what is being done. The extraordinary use of the Royal Prerogative to abolish Purchase may have been defensible or not; but it was a lamentable failure in the discharge of his duties as leader of the Opposition that Mr. DISRAELI, after characterizing it in the strong and

even violent language which he used with regard to it, should not have invited the House to consider not only its immediate, but its ulterior, consequences. No doubt he would have been beaten on a division; but Ministers are not uninfluenced by the strong and well-grounded remonstrances of able opponents, and it is highly probable that, if the Government had had the danger and folly of riding roughshod over law and usage strongly impressed on them, they might have succeeded in showing to their satisfaction that in that particular instance they were justified, but would have been led into a frame of mind which would have made the COLLIER appointment impossible. In the same way it is now a cause of the most extreme regret that all discussion of the Treaty of Washington was hushed in the Commons. This was partly owing to the retirement of Mr. DISRAELI from the real duties of his position, and partly to the unfortunate appointment of Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE as one of the Commissioners, which prevented the Conservatives from criticizing the terms of the Treaty, lest they should cast dirt upon one of their friends and minor leaders. It is to be hoped that the precedent of seeking to avoid Opposition criticism by getting a leader of the Opposition to make himself responsible for the acts of the Government will never be repeated. It is quite true that, if a Conservative of eminent ability like Lord CAIRNS had gone as one of the Commissioners to Washington, the nation would have gained a great advantage; but this would have been impossible. Had so able a man as Lord CAIRNS been at Washington, he would have insisted on drawing up the Treaty as he knew it ought to be drawn up, and the Government at home would thus have been put in a secondary and unendurable position. It was only by getting a Conservative who held a place in his party much the same as that which Lord RIRON holds in the Ministerial party, that the supremacy of the Government at the other end of the Atlantic cable could be preserved, and at the same time the criticism of the Opposition prevented. This Session the Opposition is strong enough to proceed in the regular path which constitutional tradition assigns to it. A motion to censure the Government for the COLLIER appointment is to be made in both Houses, and Mr. CORRY gives notice that on an early day he will call the Government to account for its mismanagement of the Admiralty. Important matters will no longer be discussed at haphazard, or disposed of by stray and random votes. The speakers on both sides will do their best, and will strive to show that they have gone to the bottom of the matter debated, while the voting will force each voter to take a serious and deliberate part. Of course the Opposition keenly enjoys the change of circumstances which has opened this new field to them; but their gain in this respect is the gain of the whole country, and may even become the gain of the Ministry itself, if it is wise enough to give ear to the lessons of good counsel that will thus be forced on its hearing.

PRINCE BISMARCK AND THE ULTRAMONTANE PARTY.

PRINCE BISMARCK took occasion last week to unfold to the Prussian Assembly his views on the present pretensions and conduct of the Ultramontanes. Two Catholic deputies, one of whom, M. WINDTHOST, is a Hanoverian, had attacked the Government on account of the suppression of what is termed the Catholic division of the Ministry of Public Education and Worship. Their argument was that, according to the theory of the Prussian administration, the Catholics had a right to be represented in Ministerial circles in proportion to their numbers. This drew from Prince BISMARCK not only a vehement protest against any religious body urging any claim of the sort, but an exposition of the attitude towards the Ultramontane party which he said the Government has been forced to assume in consequence of the new form which the hostility of this party to the Government has taken. Prince BISMARCK spoke as usual with the utmost frankness and boldness. It is one of his chief pleasures to let all whom it may concern know from time to time what he has been observing, and what he is going to do in consequence of what he has observed. He has lately watched the course taken by the Ultramontane party in the elections, and he has seen that these violent members of the Romanist communion have not only got hold of a new dogma, but have been impelled by the fact of holding this new dogma into a new method of attacking the Prussian Government. Formerly the chiefs of the communion, the POPE himself and the German bishops, were perfectly well satisfied with the treatment which Catholicism received at the hands of the Prussian Government. They and

their subordinates were treated with great respect and much courtesy, and were allowed to manage their own affairs very much as they pleased. But a new spirit has come over them, and the adoption of the dogma of Papal infallibility has been the cause of the change. In the first place, they wish to avail themselves of the power of the State in Prussia to punish or reduce to submission those recalcitrant members of their communion who hold professorial or ecclesiastical offices and will not accept the new dogma. In the next place, they regard Prussia and the Government of Prince BISMARCK, and the German Empire itself, as so many powers barring the way to the triumph of those views of social and political life which necessarily accompany or flow from the acceptance of the dogma of infallibility. The downfall of France and the virtual subjection of Southern to Northern Germany have been two heavy blows to the Papal cause; and if the dealing of these blows has been specially the work of any one man, that man is unquestionably Prince BISMARCK. The Ultramontanes have therefore set themselves to work against him, in the first place, by representing in electoral speeches and journalistic manifestoes the Prussian Government as a Government hard upon Catholics, unfriendly to them, and prone to deny them their just rights; and, in the second place, by combinations and intrigues with the Separatist party in the Imperial Assembly, to embarrass, if not to break up, the German Empire itself. Prince BISMARCK, among his other retorts on their attacks, denied that they really represented the Catholics of Prussia. To discuss whether he was justified or not in saying this would lead us into the wide field, every day acquiring new interest and importance, which is opened by the opposition of a section of the Catholic world to the new dogma. It is impossible to foresee, for example, how great may be the consequences of the revolt of the Vicar of the Madeleine against the authority or tyranny of the new Archbishop of PARIS. But although the larger and more general question of the true relation of the Ultramontanes to the Catholic world is of great moment to Europe, and must have been vividly present to Prince BISMARCK's mind, it may be worth while to study his speech from a narrower point of view. No contribution, probably, of equal value to the right comprehension of the current politics of Prussia and Germany has been made since the tender of the Empire at Versailles and the surrender of Paris completed the political and military successes of Prince BISMARCK and his master.

It is difficult for foreigners to pronounce how far Prussia can be at present considered to be a country under constitutional government. But it is quite certain that Prince BISMARCK has in all his recent utterances assumed that constitutional government exists in Prussia. In former days he was a strong opponent of the Liberal and constitutional party in the Prussian Assembly. He persistently said that the objects which that party had in view could not be accomplished by the means in which they confided. Prussia was constantly thwarted by Austria, which was the home of the mediæval and reactionist clique, and Prussia could not stir a step towards the unification of Germany because, first, Austria, and secondly, France, stopped the way. If Prussia was to be free at home and the builder of German unity, she must fight those who were ready to use force to prevent her attaining the ends she sought. The power of the KING and the efficiency of the army must therefore be upheld before everything else. This was the opinion which Prince BISMARCK, rightly or wrongly, always upheld, and he acted up to it with that resolution and contempt for all opposition which distinguish his character. He laid Austria in the dust, he humbled the pride of France. The German Empire was created, and then he said the time was come for constitutional government at home. In strict accordance with these views he rejected the claims of the Ultramontane party, on the ground that they were totally incompatible with constitutional government. While the Government of Prussia remained the Government of an absolute monarch, it was, he said, quite consistent with good sense that there should be a Catholic division in the Ministry of Education and Religion. The KING wished to know what each section of his subjects thought and desired on matters of considerable importance to them. He was not in the least bound to follow the advice or be influenced by the statements which they offered to his consideration. He was the sole judge and master, and the Catholic division was only an instrument by which he got together information which he was pleased to think might be of use to him. But things are quite different now. There is a Ministry responsible to the Assembly, and the members of this Ministry must have a certain mode of thinking in common, and must repre-

sent the opinions and aims of the Parliamentary majority that supports them. A Catholic division in a department of the Ministry would now be quite out of place. Either its views would have to be taken into account in the decisions at which the Ministry might arrive, and then the Ministry would no longer be in harmony with its supporters, or the opinions of the Catholic division would be entirely ignored, and then the existence of such a division would be superfluous. If, again, the Catholics were to claim a certain number of places in the Ministry because a certain number of Prussian subjects are Catholics, there is no saying where this would stop, and in every department of Government and administration there must be a distribution of offices on account, not of the fitness of the holders of office, but of the religious tenets they might happen to profess. All the sections of Protestants would require to be represented, as they too would have an unanswerable title not to be overlooked. A theological standard, or rather a series of theological standards, would dominate the whole of Prussian political life, and the result of such an absurd state of things would be, not only an abandonment of the wholesome traditions of Prussia, which try to thrust theological differences as much into the background as possible, but the downfall of constitutional government. The Assembly would be turned into an Assembly of the representatives of rival creeds, and every measure would be discussed from the theological point of view. No Ministry could hope to administer public affairs successfully, or to secure the passing of useful measures, if it was itself the motley representative of motley theologians. The thing must fail, and the country would be driven back again into absolutism.

The action of the Ultramontane party must not, however, be viewed simply as it regards Prussia. The Ultramontanes are the enemies of the German Empire as well as of the Prussian Government. They form a clique in the Imperial Assembly, the sole aim of which is to put the adherents of German unity into difficulties. With this end they have constituted themselves the allies of the heterogeneous factions which in the Imperial Assembly itself oppose that unity of Germany to represent which forms the main reason of the existence of the Assembly. There are still many parts of Germany in which a strong dislike of the new order of things prevails. The States violently annexed by Prussia after Sadowa abound with persons who regret the fall of the petty Governments under which they formerly flourished. With some this regret proceeds from an honourable attachment to rulers who befriended them, or from a traditional love for local independence. With others it is only a form of expression of general reactionary leanings. Others, again, have been mortified by the high-handed and arbitrary behaviour of Prussian officials; and a considerable number look back fondly to times when abuses prevailed by which they were allowed to profit. In the South of Germany Bavarians, and to some extent Wurtembergers, resent the inferiority to which the States to which they belong are now condemned in face of the eminence of Prussia. It is not very long ago that politicians of some tiny eminence dreamt that an arrangement would be possible under which Germany might be placed under the dominion or leadership of three Powers—Prussia, Austria, and a group of minor States, headed by Bavaria; and to men who dreamt such dreams it is mortifying to find how facts have belied their fancies. There is also a party, at present very insignificant, which longs to overturn the German Empire in order to raise up a democratic Republic on its ruins. The Prussian Ultramontanes have no real sympathies with either of these classes of politicians. They are Prussians, and are not naturally Separatists; they are Catholics, and all their principles would lead them to keep aloof from a Socialist or violently democratic Republic; and yet they work in concert with Separatists and democrats in order to promote what they conceive to be the interests of their Church. Theology comes with them before love of country or love of social order. Prince BISMARCK asks them to understand that he is quite alive to the game they are playing. It is, he says, his rule in politics to be the friend of his friends and the enemy of his enemies. The Ultramontanes are doing what they can to thwart him, and he will do what he can to thwart them. He does not affect to think that the German Empire has no enemies in Germany. He recognizes that it has enemies, numerous, active, and unscrupulous. But he informs them, and by informing them he informs his friends also, that he will not be caught sleeping. He points out who his enemies are, and carefully measures their strength; and then says that he intends to fight them as hard as he can. Boldness in such a case seems to be far the wisest and soundest

policy. When Germans thoroughly understand that the Ultramontanes mean to destroy the unity of Germany if they can, and that Prince BISMARCK will not hesitate to do everything in his power to defeat them, his success is half assured. Intrigues and cabals and manœuvres such as are dear to all theological factions might do much mischief so long as attention was not drawn to them; but when the issue has once been decisively raised, whether the hopes of the German nation are to be baffled in order that the supporters of a new dogma may rule society and tyrannize over those whose submission they claim, there cannot be much doubt as to the answer which the bulk of Germans will give.

THE PROPOSED VOTES OF CENSURE.

IT would be unreasonable to blame Lord STANHOPE, Mr. CROSS, or the political friends with whom they have probably concerted their intended motion, for asking Parliament to censure a transaction which has out of doors been unanimously condemned; yet it may be permissible to express regret that the Opposition should not have thought it consistent with its duty to abstain from a discussion which may perhaps be unseasonable. It is perhaps still possible that when the opinion of both Houses has been elicited, and after the explanations of the Ministers whose conduct is impugned, the resolutions may be withdrawn. The safety and honour of the country are paramount to all ordinary considerations; and it is not desirable that the Government should be engaged in defending an isolated act of two of its members at the moment when its attention ought to be concentrated on the negotiations or discussions relating to the Geneva arbitration. Mr. GLADSTONE indeed, with obvious sincerity, welcomes the challenge which has been offered; but his personal feelings, though they are entitled to due regard, ought not to be put in competition with national interests. Since the discussion has become inevitable, it may be hoped that it will be conducted on both sides with moderation and good temper. The strong expressions which have been already used may supersede the necessity of too severe a censure on a proceeding which is not likely to be repeated. From the first, judicious politicians have regretted the probability that a division would be taken on a personal question. A vote of censure or of want of confidence is a legitimate mode of determining whether a Government shall be driven from office; but prudent leaders of Opposition have not been in the habit of delivering the blow until they have, like Sir R. PEEL in 1841 and Lord PALMERSTON in 1859, satisfied themselves that it would be effective. There is much inconvenience in passing a censure on a Minister who will afterwards remain in office; and it is in the highest degree undesirable that as long as he commands a majority he should be driven from power by a formal Parliamentary vote. If indeed the appointment of Sir R. COLLIER had been illegal, as it was substantially irregular, it might have been absolutely necessary to correct the error by the authority of Parliament; but, as the formal validity of the appointment is not seriously disputed, any resolution which may be passed against the PRIME MINISTER or LORD CHANCELLOR will be abstract in character and inoperative in result.

Although Lord STANHOPE has formally moved for papers, the facts of the case are universally known, and the merits appear to ordinary apprehension to lie in a nutshell. It might, on the mere statement of the matter, seem to be obvious that an Act of Parliament which imposes a qualification for office virtually limits the choice of the Crown to candidates who have independently satisfied the legal condition. If the managers of the Corps of Commissioners had, from motives of benevolence, determined to employ only one-armed men, they would probably not approve of an applicant who should cut off one of his arms in the hope of entering their service. A few years ago it is true that members of Parliament were in the habit of obtaining, by fictitious contrivances, the pecuniary qualification which was then required by law; but their ingenious devices were occasionally baffled by Election Committees; and they were not, in their capacity of candidates, either official keepers of the Royal conscience or principal representatives of the English nation. The evasion of a long-established law by a private person bears little analogy to the open disregard of a recent Statute by the Minister who passed it. The habitual connivance of society or of Parliament at a legal fiction is in itself a constructive excuse for irregularity; but legislation is useless if the Ministerial coach-and-six is to be deliberately driven through Acts of Parliament as soon as they are passed. In ordinary parlance a Judge of the Common Pleas is a func-

tionary who has been appointed for the sole and ultimate purpose of administering justice in that Court. If a testator had left a fund to the Crown for the payment of the salaries of the Judges, it would be monstrous to promote fictitious Judges for the purpose of enabling them to receive a portion of the payment. A Judge who is made a Judge that he may immediately afterwards be made something else furnishes none of the usual guarantees of competency and character. Lord HATHERLEY would probably not, except in peculiar cases, appoint to the Common Law Bench Judges exclusively familiar with Chancery practice; but when the Court of Common Pleas is used as a stepping-stone, it becomes immaterial whether one of its nominal members is ever capable of discharging the duties of his office. Sir ROBERT COLLIER, indeed, was perfectly qualified for the place of Puisne Judge, but the Act of Parliament implied that the Chancellor who made the appointment should take nothing into consideration but the fitness of his nominee. In whatever way the case may be presented it is almost too plain for argument; but Mr. GLADSTONE's subtlety is more than sufficient to confuse any superficial plainness.

The Government is, it seems, prepared to contend that the construction which has been placed on the Act is correct, and that, as Mr. GLADSTONE injudiciously adds, the opposite construction would be mischievous to the public service. It is strange that a practised dialectician should fail to see that the correct construction of a given clause in a statute cannot possibly be affected by any benefit or injury which may accrue to the public service. If the provisions of the Act were injudicious, the Government is responsible for the miscarriage, and it has no right to correct by a forced interpretation the error of the Ministry or of Parliament. The appeal to expediency is almost equivalent to an admission that the obvious meaning of the enactment has been overruled or evaded. The daily eulogist and apologist of the PRIME MINISTER had already vindicated a similar irregularity, on the plea that Mr. GLADSTONE had disapproved of the restriction imposed by statute on the disposal of the living of Ewelme. If he had also objected to the statutory qualification for the office of paid member of the Judicial Committee, it would be a bold pretension to claim that his personal judgment should supersede the authority of an Act of Parliament; but in the particular case, those who introduced the Ministerial Bill deliberately omitted the mention of the law officers, who had been in earlier versions of the Bill placed in the same category with the Judges. The mischief which is supposed to be inflicted on the public service must have been distinctly contemplated by the framers of the Act; and it is a graver mischief to explain away a Judge of the Superior Courts into any barrister who may be promoted in order to give him a qualification. Mr. GLADSTONE may perhaps argue that no Government would appoint to the Judicial Committee a person who was not qualified for a seat on the Bench of the Common Pleas; but he has himself lately placed on the Committee a jurist who, however personally eminent, was not even a practising barrister. The only precedent for the appointment of a member who had not held judicial office was that of a lawyer who had recently been the undisputed head of the Equity Bar. It may be perfectly true that it was a mistake to interfere with the discretion which is in other cases exercised by Government. It is desirable that the fittest man should be selected, although he may have received no previous promotion; nor can it be alleged that judicial patronage has often been abused, although the most capable among several candidates may occasionally have been passed over; but questions of this kind have nothing to do with the only charge which has been brought against Mr. GLADSTONE and Lord HATHERLEY.

If Parliament had no more urgent business to attend to, it might be useful to prove, as far as a vote could establish the proposition, that Mr. GLADSTONE is mistaken in the meaning which he has no doubt conscientiously persuaded himself to attach to the clause in the Act of last Session. It would in any case be difficult to convince him that he had erred, or to fix his attention on the distinction between the letter and the spirit of a document; but it is only in vindication of vital truths that ATHANASIUS can afford to put himself in the balance against the world, and the unanimous verdict of Parliament, and of society in general, might perhaps raise a doubt even in an infallible mind. At present both Houses ought to be cautious in taking any course which can weaken the Government; and even if they decline to pass an adverse vote, they cannot be accused of condoning any atrocious crime. Mr. GLADSTONE is not a dark conspirator, nor is the excellent Lord HATHERLEY a traitor to his country, or an enemy of the human race. The PRIME MINISTER is

unfortunately too fond of quibbles; and the CHANCELLOR extends to his own judgment the confidence which he might safely repose in his good intentions. Little weaknesses of this kind are irritating, and when they find vent in usurpation or abuse of authority they require to be checked; but the criticism which Mr. GLADSTONE has borne, as he declares, with patience, from friends as well as enemies, will probably serve as a warning for the future. The comments which have been made in all quarters will be repeated next week by Lord STANHOPE and Mr. CROSS; and probably it will be found impossible to induce a non-official member of either House to defend the Ministerial construction of the Act. After due discussion and explanation, it may perhaps be possible for Lord HATHERLEY's friends on the Opposition benches to induce their colleagues to abstain from a hostile vote. In the House of Commons the case is simpler, inasmuch as the Government majority may fairly be rallied in opposition to a vote of censure. If the previous question or some colourless amendment is moved, no member is bound at the instance of an adversary to affirm or deny any proposition, except with a practical object of which he approves. Mr. HUME formerly said that he would rather vote that black was white than aid in defeating a Government which he wished to keep in office. In the present case it is unnecessary to assert anything which is even theoretically untrue. The House is, with the exception of the Treasury Bench, of one mind about the evasion of the Judicial Committee Act; but more than half its members are perfectly willing to support the Government. The Opposition are, in the present circumstances, not anxious to bring on a change of Ministry or a dissolution of Parliament. The centre of political interest is neither in Westminster Hall nor in England, but in the Cabinet and Senate at Washington.

PARIS AND THE ASSEMBLY.

THE French Assembly has definitively refused to return to Paris. A Parliamentary vote is of course open to be rescinded, and there are few things more certain than that the schism between the capital and the Government will not be perpetual. But it seems that the rules of the Assembly forbid the reopening of the question for six months, so that the work of Friday last can only be undone by a straining of Parliamentary forms which is greatly to be deprecated in a country where representative institutions have taken such imperfect root. And, whenever the decision may be reversed, it must, while it holds good, be regarded as a very serious matter. So long as the Executive and the Legislature are to be looked for elsewhere than in Paris, there can be no settled Government in France—no power confessedly superior to the mob of the capital. Versailles was described in the course of the debate as the strategical quarter of Paris, and the theory of the majority of the Assembly seems to be that, in fixing themselves at Versailles, they are only choosing a vantage ground from which Paris may be more completely controlled than from any nearer point. But such a control as is here contemplated is an exclusively military control—a control exercised over enemies, not over subjects. The police of a great city may be reduced, owing to exceptional circumstances, to the necessity of blockading the criminal quarter as the only means of keeping its inmates in check; but, so long as they dare not enter it, the law is militant, not triumphant.

The debate failed to call forth any new arguments. M. VAUTRAIN tried to persuade the majority that, had the Assembly been in Paris, the insurrection of the Commune would never have happened. His hearers, on the other hand, were firmly persuaded that, had the Assembly been in Paris, the insurrection of the Commune would never have been put down. It is not easy indeed to feel any confidence in the soundness of M. VAUTRAIN's conviction. Had the Assembly been in Paris last March, we confess to believing that it would have fared no better than some of its predecessors. But the conditions of the problem are altogether changed since that time. The Legislature was once saved by a fortunate absence from Paris from becoming the victim of revolutionary aggression, but it does not follow that the same degree of protection can be assured to it in no other way. In March the Assembly would have been weak in Paris for the same reason that it was actually weak at Versailles. The Government had no troops that it could trust; at all events, it did not trust those which it had. If the Commune had made an immediate and vigorous attack upon Versailles, it is by no means certain that the Assembly would not have been driven into space. But, with the army which M. THIERS can now command, the Deputies may feel as easy in one place as in another. While the troops are faithful to them, there is no

danger in Paris; if they waver, there will be no safety in Versailles. Thus much of truth, however, there was in M. VAUTRAIN's speech. The presence of the Assembly might not have prevented the Communists from rising, but it certainly would have lost them the sympathy, passive or active, of a large part of the population. The pride of the Parisians was hurt and their trade injured by the arbitrary determination of the Assembly to hold its sittings somewhere else. They had just sustained a long and desperate siege, and at the very moment when they hoped to find the eyes of all Europe fixed upon them in admiration, they found the eyes of the French Assembly turned away from them in distrust. The revival of business to which they had trusted to make good their losses during the war was indefinitely delayed; the sufferings they had endured at the hands of the enemy were to be aggravated by the perverse timidity of their own countrymen. It is no wonder, therefore, that on the first outbreak of an insurrection which had Paris for its centre, and the aggrandisement of Paris for its aim, the shopkeepers should have overlooked the social heresies of the Commune in their admiration of its political purpose. So long as the Assembly persists in treating Paris as an enemy, it has no right to be surprised if the Parisians see a friend in any one who is the enemy of the Versailles Government. The Commune was probably not the last opportunity that will present itself for the gratification of this dislike.

The vote of Friday was made almost inevitable by the mismanagement of the Government. M. BUISSON dwelt with just severity on the inconsistency of first demanding urgency for the motion, and then proposing to postpone the consideration of it. It was not, he said, the majority that had forced the question on. It had been forced on by the Government against the wish of the majority. Now that the Government came forward to undo their own work, the majority had a right to decline to assist them. There is no answer to this reasoning. A Government which presses forward questions of this magnitude, unless it is prepared to resign in the event of the division going against it, exposes itself to just contempt. There are some subjects that ought either to be left alone altogether or treated as involving the existence of the Cabinet which introduces them. It is true that the unprecedented position which M. THIERS occupies makes the resignation of the Cabinet peculiarly difficult. Though they are his Ministers in name, they are his colleagues in fact. The policy they carry out is not dictated by the dominant party in the Assembly; it is the policy of the PRESIDENT. The course taken by M. THIERS upon the tax on raw materials showed his clear appreciation of this fact. The resignation of the Ministers was only an incident accompanying the resignation of the PRESIDENT. Great as are the inconveniences which belong to this state of things, it would be unfair to lay them wholly at the door of M. THIERS. The PRESIDENT of the Republic cannot resign every time the Assembly insists on having its own way, without endangering the stability of the Executive. Yet, if he accepts the alternative, and consents to see a policy which he thinks mischievous carried out by Ministers not of his own choosing, he is not playing the part assigned him at Bordeaux. Before M. THIERS can do all that is expected of him, he must be King and Minister in one. But this state of things, while it provides M. THIERS with exceptional excuses, ought to subject him at the same time to exceptional restraints. A statesman who knows that no important difference can arise between himself and the Legislature without his having to choose between sacrificing the dignity of his office and leaving the country a prey to confusion should be especially careful not to provoke such differences. If M. THIERS thought the return of the Government to Paris a question of sufficient moment to be forced on in an Assembly known to be bitterly opposed to it, he ought to have made as much of it as he did of his financial projects. If he was not prepared to go this length, he should have left it altogether alone.

Nor is it M. THIERS alone that has come out of this discussion with a diminished reputation. The Duke of AUMALE and the Prince of JOINVILLE have thought it expedient to declare that, had they been present during the division, they should have voted in favour of Paris. The inquiry naturally suggested by this notification is, Why were they not present? The silence of two Deputies about whose admission into the Assembly there was so much controversy, may often be due to a desire not to embarrass the Government. But though this motive may hinder the Duke of AUMALE from using his influence to throw out projects of which he disapproves, it need not interfere with his support of projects which he approves.

M. THIERS is anxious to see the Assembly consent to return to Paris, and any influence which the Princes of ORLEANS might have used on behalf of this step would have been a direct support of the existing Government. As it is, they have no right to wonder if their enemies attribute their abstention to their uncertainty whether the minority would be large enough to make it prudent for them to be classed among it. The exception to the general discredit which this vote has contrived to entail upon all connected with it is M. CASIMIR PÉRIER. His speech was not very vigorous, but he seems to have a degree of readiness to stand by his opinions, whatever may be the consequences of doing so, which is rare in France at present. Nothing, it seems, could have made him so popular, even with the majority against which he voted, as his determination to resign. There is some disposition on the part of the Deputies to regard M. THIERS's Ministers, especially M. POUYER-QUERTIER and M. JULES SIMON, as so many old men of the sea. The discovery that one of the Cabinet has persisted in leaving it is calculated to suggest a hope that the staying power of the rest may have been exaggerated.

THE TREATY WITH HOLLAND.

AS the Ministers seem to have been at a loss for matter when they framed the QUEEN'S Speech, they might perhaps as well have noticed the little colonial transaction which has produced some excusable excitement in Holland. As the negotiation for the transfer of the Dutch settlements on the Gold Coast was on both sides entirely voluntary, it may be taken for granted that neither Government has suffered by the bargain. Long experience has shown that neighbouring civilized Powers in contact with the same inferior races are in frequent danger of collision. Before the conquest of Canada the French and English in North America were always squabbling for influence with the Indian tribes; and on a small scale a similar antagonism prevailed on the West Coast of Africa between the Dutch and the English. The police of the seaboard was in the hands of two independent authorities, and the local chiefs probably believed that any disregard to the orders of either Government would be countenanced by the other. It is easy to believe that amalgamation or monopoly may have been the only effectual remedy for the inconveniences that ensued; and as the possessions of England in the neighbourhood were larger than those of the Netherlands, it was an obvious arrangement for the more considerable competitor to buy out a willing rival. The consideration is paid partly in money, but principally in concessions as to another colonial region. It seems that under existing treaties the English Government had a right to impose certain restrictions on the extension of Dutch power in the great island of Sumatra; and the claim, whatever it may have been worth, is henceforth abandoned in consideration of the cession of Elmina and the other Dutch forts on the Gold Coast. The confusion which has hitherto existed was explained by the intermixture or alternation along the coast of Dutch and English settlements. In similar cases private owners are generally anxious to round their estates by exchange or by purchase; and although it is not in the nature of English dependencies to be absolutely costless, the burden of maintaining the establishment will probably not be increased by the enlargement of the dominion. It may be inferred from the names of some of the local dignitaries that the population as well as the territory has been somewhat capriciously distributed. A patriotic representative of the subject King of ELMINA is called Mr. DAVID MILL GRAVES, and the burgomaster of the capital signs his name as J. HARMAN SMITH. It may be hoped that in time the alien clans of GRAVES and SMITH will find it possible to reconcile themselves to English rule. It is true that they are both probably of the race of HAM, but the original godfathers or patrons of their families would seem to have been rather English than Dutch.

The opponents of the measure in the Netherlands Parliament were fairly justified in their assertion that Holland is a great colonial Power. No European State can boast of historical achievements so illustrious in proportion to the number and natural resources of the population; and the administration of Java and of other Dutch settlements proves that, although from political changes it is no longer possible for the kingdom of the Netherlands to occupy the position which was held in the seventeenth century by the Confederacy and its Stadtholder, the national vigour has at the present day not been impaired. The jealousy which is excited by the withdrawal in any quarter of the boundary of an Empire is legitimate and respectable; but probably there is more to

be gained in Sumatra than to be lost on the African coast. Some of the speakers complained that the English Government was annexing the diamond fields of South Africa at the expense of the little Dutch Republic which borders on the Cape Colony. Where English settlers go English authority must follow them with protection and control; and there is no reason to believe that the farmers of the Republic object to the practical extension of English territory. It might have been remembered that the independence of the Trans-Vaal Republic was voluntarily established by the English Colonial Office only twelve or fifteen years ago. It is natural that the people of the Netherlands should sympathize with the descendants of their former colonists, but the South African Republic has no political connexion with Holland. If Dutch patriotism derives any satisfaction from recalling the exploits of RUYTER against the English in the days of CHARLES II., it may nevertheless be suggested that, because the Admiral visited Elmina and entered the Medway, it scarcely follows that a friendly cession of Elmina for full consideration is necessarily a compromise of national honour. Although Holland may no longer be equal in power to England, the arrangement which has recently been effected had nothing whatever to do with the naval or military superiority of either party to the contract. The Government of the Netherlands has apparently satisfied the Parliament that the covetousness attributed to England is wholly imaginary, and that there is no question of attempting to detach Surinam or Curaçao from the present allegiance.

Mr. GRAVES, the intelligent Envoy of the titular King of ELMINA, unintentionally explained the grounds of the transfer which he was sent to oppose. According to the statement which he was instructed to present, his countrymen of Elmina lately saved the colony from certain Fantee invaders, who were, it is said, instigated by the English. It may be conjectured that no barbarous tribe within some hundreds of miles has at any time engaged in a warlike expedition which has not been attributed to the malignant influence either of England or of Holland. When the Fantees recommence hostilities against Elmina, it will be impossible to suspect that they are set in motion by the Government which they will attack. It is not surprising that the German Minister at the Hague should have declined to interfere with an arrangement which exclusively concerns England and the Netherlands. It would hardly suit the purpose of the German Government to maintain the independence, or rather the Dutch government, of Elmina, on the general ground that no Power ought to annex a province against the supposed wish of the inhabitants. Perhaps the Elmina Ambassador may be induced to reconsider his amiable intention of persuading the King of ASHANTEE to cut off the heads of all the German subjects who may come within his reach. The sable potentate will probably reflect that the political representation of Elmina belongs henceforth not to the nominal King of his Envoy, but to the protecting Power. As Mr. GRAVES in the intervals of diplomatic employment keeps a shop or store in his native town, the increase of business may perhaps, unless he happens to be interested in contraband trade, console him in course of time for the shock inflicted on his feelings. The more important interests of the Dutch traders on the coast are protected by a guarantee of perfect free trade. In the days of commercial and colonial monopoly, the transfer of a dependency by one Government to another involved the destruction of an existing trade. On the other hand, the treaty provides that the merchants of the Straits Settlements shall be entitled to trade with Sumatra on equal terms with the Dutch. An equivalent for the concession is provided by the stipulation that the Surinam planters shall be entitled to obtain free labour from India as freely as the inhabitants of the English colonies. It would seem that all parties concerned benefit by the arrangement; but the principal advantage will accrue to the African tribes in the neighbourhood of the coast. They will no longer be able to indulge in warfare among themselves, nor will the Fantees attempt to conquer or devastate the English territories. The negotiations have taken many years to complete, and it may be fairly assumed that all interests involved have been duly protected.

Mr. RYLANDS, the self-appointed censor of foreign policy, referred to the Gold Coast Treaty with Holland when he lately propounded the doctrine that the Government would be better employed in effecting internal reforms than in filching colonies from neighbours by the dark practices of diplomacy. If he repeats his criticisms in the House of Commons, the Government may fairly adduce the treaty as an illustration of the benefit which the country may derive from the unostentatious activity of its diplomatic agents and of their chiefs at the Foreign Office. Lord CLARENDON, who set the scheme in

motion, was probably influenced by the representations of the only persons who understood the condition of the Gold Coast settlements or the interests involved in the trade. The imports and exports of the Coast already amount annually to a million and a half; and in the probable contingency of the trade being doubled by the discouragement of disturbances and native wars, a small percentage on the profit will far more than repay the expense during several years of the English Legation at the Hague. The resources of the interior of the continent have been but imperfectly explored; but they have been both increased and rendered available for legitimate commerce by the suppression of the slave trade on the Western Coast. As the exports have hitherto exceeded the imports in value, it would seem that there must be a growing demand for English manufactures which will find their way from the coast to the interior. In an early stage of civilization cheap cutlery and cotton prints begin to be appreciated; and the inhabitants of the Gold Coast and their inland neighbours are fortunately not without the means of paying for the commodities which they require. If any advantages which may result from the acquisition of additional territory had been purchased at the cost of unfriendly conduct or disrespectful demeanour to Holland, they would have been bought too dear; but the Government and Parliament of the Netherlands are competent judges of the interest and honour of their country, and both have deliberately approved the transaction. As far as England is concerned, it is satisfactory to find that the Foreign Office is not always occupied in making unlimited concessions to powerful and exacting claimants. In commercial negotiations the Government can always secure the aid of skilled advisers who have in the special matter a common interest with the nation. The Foreign Minister is not, like the President of the French Republic, wiser than the manufacturers and the merchants who suggest to him the most effectual modes of opening and extending new or existing markets.

THE WEST RIDING AND GALWAY ELECTIONS.

THE elections which have occurred during the Recess have almost uniformly gone against the Government, and the meeting of Parliament has not broken the spell of defeat. Two more seats were lost on Tuesday; a close contest is apparently inevitable when the Speaker retires from North Nottinghamshire; and the only consolation that can be offered to the Government is that, if Mr. PENDER succeeds Mr. LOCH at Wick, its majority will not thereby be diminished. As regards the Irish elections, we should perhaps distinguish in fairness between the Government and the Ministry. It may be plausibly argued that the Home Rule candidates are opposed rather to the British Government than to any particular Administration, and that if the Conservatives had been in office the result would have been the same. At the same time it is obvious that if, as we are assured in the QUEEN'S Speech, serious crime has declined and trade and agriculture are unusually prosperous in Ireland, the constituencies either do not attribute these advantages to Mr. GLADSTONE'S policy, or they have chosen a singular method of showing their gratitude. The North-West Riding election has a significance which it is impossible either to overlook or to explain away. It is sometimes difficult to say precisely why one candidate is preferred to another. There is perhaps no broad political issue between them, or, if there is, it is complicated by personal preferences or local influences, and the constituency is swayed by a combination of motives. The personal popularity of one candidate may outweigh political objections, while his opponent may be acceptable in his opinions but not in himself. In the West Riding, however, the candidates appear to have been pretty equally matched. Each had been in Parliament before, each had a connexion with the county, and there seems to be no reason to suppose that one was personally more agreeable to the electors than the other. Nor were there, as far as we can see, any local questions involved. The election turned distinctly and exclusively on the choice between Radicalism and Liberal-Conservatism. Mr. HOLDEN endorsed the revolutionary intolerance of the Dissenting junta, and the subversive crotchets which have been taken up by the advanced wing of Mr. GLADSTONE'S party. Mr. POWELL adhered very closely to the programme which Lord DERBY sketched out the other day at Liverpool. The question most sharply at issue between the candidates was that of religious education. Mr. HOLDEN demanded secular instruction and the immediate disestablish-

ment of the Church of England. Mr. POWELL supported the compromise of the Education Act, and deprecated any rash violence towards the Church or any other institution which, however it might offend fanatical theorists, was practically beneficial in its operation, and gave rise to no tangible grievance. It is true that Mr. POWELL was opposed to the Permissive Bill, while his antagonist either had, or was supposed to have, a leaning towards it; but it does not appear that this question caused much excitement in the West Riding, or exercised a decided influence on the election. The most prominent subject of controversy was undoubtedly the freedom of religious education, and it is significant that the efforts of Mr. MIALL and his friends in Bradford did not prevent Mr. HOLDEN from being left in a minority in that borough. The result of the first election since the Nonconformist declaration of war furnishes perhaps the best comment on the campaign to which they have committed themselves.

It appears that the return of Mr. POWELL has been hailed as a conclusive proof of the existence of what is called a Conservative reaction; but it may be doubted whether this is an accurate description of the political condition of the West Riding, or of other parts of the country where similar symptoms are observable. There can be no longer any doubt that the Liberal ranks are seriously divided. Mr. AKROYD, and other gentlemen who have hitherto been associated with that party, openly supported Mr. POWELL, and his success was clearly due to the votes or neutrality of a large body of Liberals. This indeed has been the common history of most of the elections which have taken place during the Recess. The Government has ceased to command the implicit confidence of its supporters; they are willing that it should remain in office, but they think it safer to clip its wings and restrain its flight. There is an indisposition to strengthen Mr. GLADSTONE'S authority, because it is not known to what use he may be tempted to apply it, and because it is suspected that it may be a use which will not be generally approved. It is thought, therefore, to be the more prudent course to keep down his majority, just as a cautious father reduces his son's allowance in order to put him on his good behaviour. It is true that the hurried violence of recent legislation has been followed by a condition of languor and fatigue; but it can hardly be said that there is a reaction in the sense of a desire to go back. The general feeling of the country appears to be merely a longing for repose, and a reluctance to go forward without a distinct understanding as to the direction and pace of movement. "Rest and be thankful" is again a popular device. The defection, as it is called, of Mr. AKROYD and others of his class may perhaps be attributed in some degree to social causes similar to those which have produced so remarkable a change in the political complexion of Lancashire; but there can be no doubt that it corresponds with the prevailing sentiment of important classes.

The Galway election is a characteristic illustration of Irish politics. Captain NOLAN, the Home Rule candidate, has been returned by an overwhelming majority, but it is not known whether, like Mr. MARTIN, he will sit and speak, but not vote, in the Parliament whose authority he repudiates. Mr. BUTT, whose rumoured appointment to a well-paid Indian judgeship has been contradicted, has expressed some doubts as to the prudence of challenging a decision on the Home Rule question in the House of Commons, and the Parliamentary organization of this great party of half-a-dozen members appears for the present to be impeded by the difficulty of determining which of them shall command it. It is stated that the priests took an unusually active part in the Galway election, addressing their flocks from the altar in favour of Captain NOLAN on successive Sundays, and heading the march of voters to the poll. In Kerry clerical influence is also said to have been vigorously exercised on behalf of Mr. BLENNERHASSETT, another champion of the Home Rule movement. Sir T. BURKE, who was declared by an excited priest to have rung his own death-knell, complained to the Archbishop, and was assured that the expression was used in a purely political sense; but it might have led to unpleasant consequences if the words had been literally construed by a passionate and ignorant peasant. It may be doubted whether clerical intimidation will be checked by the Ballot; a threat of divine wrath does not depend for its effect on the disclosures of a scrutiny. During the Galway election there was some rather serious rioting in different parts of the county, several people were injured, and on one occasion the Riot Act had to be read. In Kerry the authorities have during the week been prepared for similar disorders. The Home Rule candidate deprecated violence, but his opponent, Mr. DEASE, had already had his ribs broken by

the mob. The various candidates who have taken up the cry of self-government for Ireland have been careful not to enter too minutely into explanations of the practical nature of the project. It is announced that the object is not to obtain a repeal of the Union, but to promote the "reconstruction of society," and to transfer legislation for Ireland from those who misunderstand or neglect it to those who have an interest in advancing the welfare of the country. It is necessary that the Imperial Treasury should play an important part in this scheme of social reconstruction, and the Union is to be preserved to the extent of placing Imperial revenues at the absolute disposal of patriotic Irishmen for the benefit of local interests. It appears to be also thought desirable that arrangements should continue to be made for the admission of Irishmen into the civil and military service of the Crown. Another concession which the Home Rulers may not be indisposed to grant is that the British Government should continue to advance money to Irish tenants who desire to become landlords; but the payment of interest or rent in return for those advances will of course be a purely Irish question, to be settled by the free will of an independent people. It may be supposed that, if there were any chance of the Home Rule movement becoming really serious, there are people in Ireland who, for their own sake, would at once take care to put it down. It is to a belief in its impotence that it owes the factitious importance which it has been allowed to assume. The respectable classes who have no sympathy with reckless agitators, and who would be the first to turn upon them if they gave any indication of being practically dangerous, are willing to play them off upon the Government, in the hope that a little pressure of this kind will help their own demands. It is for the Government to show that this pressure has ceased to be effectual.

LORD RUSSELL ON THE EDUCATION ACT.

NO reputation is safe from being discredited by the subsequent freaks of its possessor, and if Lord Russell had not been "obliged to write again on the subject of education," he would have been open to just censure for giving this unpleasant spectacle to the world. But, as the victim of compulsion, he has a claim to sympathy and condolence, and the things he has said under the pressure of this necessity make the claim an unusually strong one. To be obliged to write must always be a hardship; to be obliged to write as Lord Russell has now written is a misfortune of extraordinary magnitude. He begins, it is needless to say, with an historical retrospect. The object of this survey is apparently to disprove the claims usually set up with regard to popular education on behalf of the Church of England. The clergy have really been the enemy that sowed the tares in the educational field. The object for which the National Society was founded was simply to counteract the efforts made by Lord Russell's father to provide "schools for all." In these admirable institutions the Bible was daily read, and the Roman Catholics of that generation seem to have been made of less stern stuff than their descendants, since for some years they, as well as the Jews, sent their children to these schools "without scruple or objection." This delightful harmony might have lasted till now if the clergy had not interfered. They were "generally opposed to the education of the poor," and to give effect to their opposition they invented Denominationalism. Schools for all were making progress; their further extension must be checked by the establishment of schools for some. Hence the National Society. It might have been thought that the really guilty people in this transaction were not the founders of the National Society—who, even on the principles of Lord Nottingham and Lord Mansfield, had a right to teach their religion in whatever way they chose—but the Government which aided them with public money without insisting upon a conscience clause. It may be unjust to help one man to teach his children and not to help another; but it has not usually been held that a man ought to leave his own children without education unless he is prepared to educate at the same time the children of all his neighbours. Perhaps the fact that Lord Russell was himself responsible for the assistance formerly given by the Government to strictly Denominational schools may account for his shifting the blame to the shoulders of the clergy. It will be admitted, however, that his last retrospect is a great advance on those that have gone before it. Hitherto Lord Russell has been rather given to the production of jejune summaries of universally known facts. This time he has soared above the level of *Mangnall's Questions*, and has invested his statement with a warm imaginative glew. The

future historian will hardly turn to his letter for information as to the early history of National Schools; but the novelist may study it to learn how to give verisimilitude to a narrative which is absolutely the creation of the writer's own brain.

The Birmingham League will perhaps survive Lord Russell's regret that they "have adopted the fallacious and inadequate plan of secular instruction." But if they wish to maintain their character for ingeniously misrepresenting the intentions of the Education Act they must be on the alert. For perverse unfairness of criticism it will not be easy to rival Lord Russell. He describes the 25th section of the Act as sanctioning "an exclusive rate far worse than the former Church rate." How the epithet "exclusive" can be applied to a rate which is spent in paying the fees of indigent children at any elementary school which their parents may prefer is not evident, but the description of the actual working of this clause is more wonderful still:—"As matters stand at present, half-a-dozen pauper parents who have been cajoled by the Church can inflict a rate upon their neighbours, three-fourths of whom may differ from the Church on the thorny and obscure question of infant baptism." Nothing can be more certain than that the neighbours of these cajoled paupers would have to pay a much larger rate if the 25th section were repealed, since in that case, whenever a parent was ordered to send his child to school, and pleaded inability to pay the school fee, it would be incumbent upon the School Board to build a School Board school for his exclusive use, while all the time there might be ample room for him in a voluntary school close by, and his parents might actually wish him to be sent there. Taken by itself, the reference in this paragraph of the letter to the "thorny and obscure question of infant baptism" appears hopelessly unintelligible. As the only question in dispute is whether the School Boards shall teach reading, writing, and arithmetic by a master of their own providing, or pay the master of a school already in existence to impart this rudimentary instruction, the opinions of the ratepayers on matters of sacramental doctrine seem beside the mark. But a later paragraph clears up the mystery. "To force Baptist parents to pay a rate for the enforcement of the Church Catechism," says Lord Russell, "is an unjust and persecuting innovation." From this it appears that Lord Russell supposes that the fees paid to Denominational schools go to defray the cost of religious as well as secular instruction, and that all the children attending the school are compelled to be present at the religious lesson. No misconception less complete would cover the whole of Lord Russell's proposition. Before a Baptist parent can be correctly described as forced to pay a rate for the enforcement of the Church Catechism, the Church Catechism must be forced on the scholars, and the money of the Baptist parent must go to assist the process.

From these general views on the subject of education Lord Russell turns to defend himself against the sneers of "a Bedfordshire Clergyman"—a phrase in which we seem to recognize a characteristically inaccurate reference to the letters of "a Hertfordshire Incumbent," who has blamed him for "saying that those who arrived at years of discretion might decide for themselves whether they might join the Church or any other Protestant, or the Roman Catholic, Communion." Lord Russell refers for a justification of his statement to the preface to the order of Confirmation. The Church of England, he considers, has shown "its usual wisdom" by giving a *locus penitentiae* to all children baptized into its pale. It "approves the entrance of a child a fortnight old into the Christian Church," but it "sees the absurdity of supposing that a babe who cannot speak or understand can be bound irrevocably to the faith" professed in its behalf. It is ordered, therefore, that children who are come to years of discretion shall ratify and confirm with their own knowledge and consent what has been promised for them by their godfathers and godmothers. Lord Russell acknowledges that this form is too often only a form—that a child "who has for years said the Lord's Prayer at its mother's knee, who has gone regularly with its parents to the parish church, and has learnt to say the Creed and the Ten Commandments, is easily induced to attend and renew its promises openly." Still the Church itself repudiates this unfair pressure, and "asks the children now come to years of discretion for their own assent." Lord Russell assumes that to ask assent is the same thing as to allow dissent; but supposing him to be right in his interpretation of the Prayer-Book, it would be well that this should be more clearly expressed in the Confirmation Service. A very slight addition would remove all doubt upon this head. The Bishop might be ordered to instruct the candidates, before putting the question which begins "Dost thou."

that they are not to answer "I do" unless it is their own wish. It must be borne in mind, however, that on this supposition the Church of England goes a good deal further in its "usual wisdom" than most secular moralists have been accustomed to go. The promise in respect of which the Church "asks the children now come to years of discretion" for their own assent "does not relate exclusively to belief. It is largely concerned with practice. But there is nothing to show that the Church makes any distinction between one part of it and another, and consequently, on Lord Russell's theory, it must equally intend that those arrived at years of discretion shall decide whether they will or will not renounce the lusts of the flesh. No doubt a very considerable amount of choice is exercised on this point; but it is something new to have it laid down that the Church of England wishes her members to approach the question with as little bias as the natural prejudices of education will allow.

It is clear from the last paragraph of Lord Russell's letter that, if he were ten years younger, the disestablishment of the Church of England would have to be added to the list of enterprises which he is ready to undertake at a moment's notice. He is full of surprise that "the present Ministry have taken" no pains to retain and conciliate so valuable and distinguished "a colleague as Mr. MIALI," and he intimates, not obscurely, that, if the choice lay with him, he would rather have Mr. MIALI's friendship than that of "the bishops and clergy, and the congregations committed to their charge." New joint-stock companies are rather fond of getting an aged peer for their chairman, and the Liberation Society may perhaps like to advance to the charge for which their trumpets have lately been sounding under the leadership of the author of the Durham letter and other equally brilliant raids into the region of ecclesiastical politics. At all events, if this is their desire, there is no fear that Lord Russell will incline an unfavourable ear to their prayer.

STATE CEREMONIALS.

EVERYBODY remembers the celebrated "purple patch" in Lord Macaulay's essay on Warren Hastings; it is an excellent bit of rhetoric of its kind, and it is hard to read it without being carried away for the moment by the imposing roll of sentences, by the historical allusions to Rufus and Bacon and Somers and Strafford, and by the graphic portraits of the distinguished spectators of the show. There, as we remember, the "historian of the Roman Empire thought of the days when Cicero pleaded the cause of Sicily against Verres"; there were "the greatest painter and the greatest scholar of the age"; Sir Joshua was allured from his easel, and the grand spectacle had "induced Parr to suspend his labours in that dark and profound mine from which he had extracted a vast treasure of erudition, a treasure too often buried in the earth, too often paraded with injudicious and inelegant ostentation, but still precious, massive, and splendid." This and much more of the same kind is known by heart to many of the author's favourite schoolboys. Is it fair to look too closely into the gorgeous sentences, and to ask whether they are really gold embroidery or tinsel? At times we feel the language to be a little overcharged and provocative of a certain scepticism. We wonder whether Gibbon really thought what he ought in all propriety to have thought, or whether his mind was perhaps more occupied with the possible effects of draughts, or with the atrocious behaviour of somebody who was treading upon his toes. Did it want much persuasion to induce Parr to suspend his labours in that mine the treasures of which seem, rather oddly, to have been at the same time extracted and buried in the earth? or did the deprivation of his much-loved tobacco weigh upon his spirits more than the absence of books? In one or two passages the upholstery arrangements are a little too prominent. Neither military nor civil pomp, we are told, was wanting. There were grenadiers and cavalry outside; whilst "the Peers, robed in gold and ermine, were marshalled by heralds under Garter King-at-Arms," and "the Judges in their vestments of State attended to give advice on points of law." The gold and ermine and the vestments of State give, we fear, a slight tinge of vulgarity to the eloquence; and we can hardly refrain from a smile when the orator rolls forth the imposing name of "Garter King-at-Arms" in such simplicity of faith. It may be wrong, but in our fancy poor Garter King-at-Arms would be a fit companion for the lion and the unicorn in "Looking-Glass land," rather than a personage made visible and tangible to our senses. It is curious to turn from the rhetorician to a keen humorist, and to contrast with this glowing description Thackeray's account of the funeral of Napoleon. Here we have the seamy side of the tailoring and upholstery business. We hear how the awed and expectant throng stamped their cold feet and blew their fingers and munched their ham sandwiches, and laughed at the unfortunate Englishwoman in an outrageous bonnet, who with true national obstinacy succeeded, in spite of rebuffs, in forcing her way into a good place. There are distinguished personages enough, but we are not invited to bow down before them in solemn reverence. There is poor old Monecy, for example, the Governor of Paris in

1814, who has been praying to live over this grand ceremonial; for him we cannot but have a kindly feeling, but we can hardly say as much for the other "illustrious Marshal who once carried a candle before Charles X. in a procession, and has been this morning to Neuilly to kneel and pray at the foot of Napoleon's coffin. He might have said his prayers at home, to be sure, but don't let us ask too much; that kind of reserve is not a Frenchman's characteristic." We may be glad that Englishmen have still some of it; but, if they overcome their shy reluctance to publicity on any future occasion, we can guess how the imitators of Macaulay would work their prayers into a bit of fustian. At length the drums beat, and the guns roar, and the audience draw their breath as they do when the rockets go up at Vauxhall, and the clergy chant in "a weak, snuffling, lugubrious manner," and Napoleon's coffin passes. "A box covered with a great red cross, a dingy-looking crown lying on the top of it—seamen on one side and Invalids on the other—they had passed in an instant and were up the aisle."

Which of the two reporters suits our feelings best? It is needless to decide, for at all public ceremonials that we happen to have witnessed, the real impression is produced by the conflict of two currents of feeling, which probably get the mastery by turns. The gravediggers in *Hamlet*, according to our English taste, serve to heighten the pathos of Ophelia's funeral. It would seem, indeed, that we take pains to reproduce the same effect by our national method of conducting that melancholy ceremony. The pathetic and exquisite service of the English Church stands out in relief against the clumsy and ludicrous mummeries of the British undertaker. That estimable person does not generally possess Shakespearian humour; but he does his best by his pompous affectations to provide an efficient contrast to the natural manifestations of grief. We could dispense with a great part of his services as being superfluously incongruous and obtrusive; but there must always be a certain element of the mechanical and the prosaic even in the most solemn ceremonies, which we do not desire to ignore too completely. It is well to remember that even the most impressive ceremonies destined to give expression to the deepest feelings of a nation are very far from absorbing all its energies. There are sandwiches to be eaten and noses to be blown even when our greatest heroes are being carried to their final repose; and all the gold lace and ermine and upholstery in the world has a seamy side to it somewhere. The ceremonial which has recently taken place at Westminster, and that which is about to take place at St. Paul's, undoubtedly correspond to genuine sentiments. Englishmen have a considerable regard for their Parliamentary institutions, and we need not speak of the sympathy excited by the recovery of the Prince of Wales. It would be unbecoming in the one case, as it would be superfluous in the other, to point out how much that is insincere or unworthy mixes with the public demonstrations in these as in every other ceremonial conducted by human beings. If we refuse to confine ourselves to the imposing exterior, we may detect abundant illustrations of the manifold meannesses of which the world is made up. The lessons which we should learn would not be the less profitable because they would not all bear public expression. We do not by any means condemn for such reasons any State ceremonial which has in it a genuine core of belief. There is indeed something occasionally impressive in an entire absence of pomp. Visitors to the United States during the civil war might see a gentleman in commonplace costume, surrounded by less state than attends the mayor of the smallest English borough, who, as was said, had only to touch a bell in order to place in arrest any obnoxious person in a population of twenty millions. There was in its way something striking to the imagination in such a combination of external simplicity with the possession of almost unlimited power. It is merely a question of art. There are occasions on which we may fitly study the utmost possible simplicity, and there are others on which we may fairly aim at producing the most gorgeous effects. The grand rhetoric of Milton or of Burke may be as appropriate in one sphere as the straightforward vernacular of Swift and Cobbett in another. There is a time for all things in this world, as the wise man reminds us; a time for talking sense, and a time for talking nonsense; a time for the baldest method of stating facts, and a time for soaring, if we can manage it, to the loftiest flights of eloquence. And it is plain that the British constitution, depending so much as it does upon the prestige of a long series of uninterrupted historical associations, must frequently call for ceremonials of a gorgeous character which are attempts to put into tangible shape the vague mass of recollections that floats before our minds. We would not rashly abolish Garter King-at-Arms, or even a single beefeater, though we need not be altogether blind to the ridiculous side of some ancient observances. It is in fact desirable to keep up a sense of the ridiculous, if only to check the tendency of the mere upholstery to take leave altogether of realities, and to become a mere mass of meaningless pomposity. The misfortune is perhaps that our sense of ridicule is apt to be a little too keen. The disposition to criticism passes the bounds at which it is a useful check. It infects the unfortunate performers themselves; and though a Garter King-at-Arms is a very harmless, and even at times a very useful, institution, he is apt to break down when he is failing even to believe in himself. In this as in every other case it is impossible to lay down any mechanical rule for deciding what can only be properly decided by instinctive taste. Thus much perhaps may be said with more or less confidence—that it is safer to incline to

the side of simplicity, and that we should therefore admit elaborate ceremonials only in those cases where their absence would be felt as painful. A monument should always be erected for the sake of the person commemorated, not the person commemorated for the sake of the monument. A ceremony becomes absurd in proportion as it is intended to give rise to a sentiment, and not to provide a vent for a sentiment which exists already; and the same principle would be applicable to many of the details of such matters. We do not mean of course to hint the slightest doubt as to the propriety of the two performances we have referred to; we simply suggest that the strain of sentiment described by Macaulay may have a complement in the vein of satire to which Thackeray has given expression. It need hardly be said that there is a wide distinction between simplicity and shabbiness, and that, when it is thought desirable to have a public ceremonial with any pretensions to magnificence, it should be carried out handsomely, and without niggardly reserves.

RABAGAS.

IT is a familiar boast among Frenchmen that in their country ridicule kills, and that no party or institution can survive being laughed at. If this is true, some of the recent productions of the French theatre would seem to be somewhat ominous for the Republic. If Beaumarchais helped on the great Revolution with his *Mariage de Figaro*, succeeding dramatists have not shown themselves favourable to democracy. Perhaps under a Monarchy or Empire they may from malice have given a carping tone to their pieces, but as soon as a Republic has been established they have invariably turned against it. The performance of such burlesques as *La Propriété c'est le Vol* and *La Foire aux Idées*, no doubt, had their effect in disintegrating the Republic of 1848; and *Rabagas* and some other plays which have lately been brought out in Paris are apparently aimed at the democratic Republicans. It is known that the censorship is very strict in France, and that the present Government has no hesitation in suppressing any publication which displeases it. Several Bonapartist and Radical journals have been summarily punished, and the Minister of Justice is now considering whether he ought not to put a stop to the circulation of a "Popular Republican Catechism," in which the alarming doctrine is advanced that every man has a right to personal freedom and the use of his senses. On the other hand, not only has M. Sardou's *Rabagas* been allowed to be produced without, it is said, the alteration of a word by the censorship, but a strong force of police is employed to keep an eye on any perverse Radicals who may attempt to get up a demonstration against it. It is impossible to resist the inference that this comedy enjoys to a certain extent the patronage of the Government, and that M. Thiers is not sorry that M. Gambetta and his friends, at whom the piece is supposed to be levelled, should be presented in a ridiculous aspect to the Parisians. The play does not appear to be of much value from a strictly literary point of view, and the central idea is old and commonplace; but it is worked out with a good deal of vigour and vivacity, and at any rate it seems to please. On the first night the Democrats showed their teeth; the curtain fell amid great disorder, cries of "Vive la République!" were answered by "A bas les communards!", and the gas had to be turned off in order to compel the audience to disperse. The controversy was transferred to the streets, where the disputants fell to blows, and at one moment there were fears of a riot. The next evening there was only a little hissing, but it was observed that groups of men, isolated in appearance but evidently with a common understanding, had assembled in the neighbourhood of the theatre, and it was suspected that these were Democrats watching for an opportunity to renew the disturbances of the previous night. Since then the hissing within and the crowds without have both subsided. Those who resent a satire of this kind are obviously at a disadvantage, because their resentment is at once seized upon as an acknowledgment that the cap fits. M. Gambetta's more prudent friends have discovered that *Rabagas* is not Gambetta but Ollivier. M. Sardou's own explanation would perhaps be that it is not a portrait but a type. The political significance of the affair is that, whether rightly or wrongly, *Rabagas* is popularly identified with Gambetta, and that the Parisians are on the whole delighted with the caricature. It is quite possible that this may smooth the way of the Assembly back to Paris.

The plot of the piece, as far as *Rabagas* is concerned, is very simple. Readers of Mr. Browning will remember his *Soul's Tragedy*, in which the wily old legate, having a revolt to quell, tackles the leader in a private interview, and wins him over by exciting his ambition, and pointing out his superiority to his confederates, who already envy and distrust him, and his fitness for a higher sphere. This is, in substance, the story of *Rabagas* of Monaco, "le plus joli bateleur de phrases, un avocat jovial, bon garçon et grand tarisieur de chopes," who is the life and soul of the Reds of the little principality. He writes slashing articles for their newspaper, *La Carmagnole*. He makes tremendous speeches at their club, and whenever he holds a brief for a criminal he takes care to direct his glowing rhetoric against the authorities. "When civilization gets worm-eaten, you are sure to come upon the avocat; as the man of action disappears the rhetorician arises." This is the political text on which the dramatist preaches; and when he talks of "Byzantium squabbling about an adverb more or less, while, gliding through the shade, the Turks, who act and do not talk, are suddenly at her gates,"

there can be little doubt at whom the phrase is pointed. While Gambetta vapours, Moltke is at your gates—this is the prompt translation of the dullest fellow in the pit. Round the central figure is grouped the select society of the *Crapaud Volant*, a dingy tavern which is not only the headquarters of the revolutionary club, but the office of the *Carmagnole*. Over the door is a notice that a fine of fivepence will be inflicted for any allusion to the Deity. The company is a choice collection of broken careers and disappointed ambitions; the barrister without briefs, the doctor without patients, the dramatist who has been hissed, the discharged clerk, the cashiered officer, a defaulter, three bankrupts, two blacklegs, a Utopianist, seven idiots, and eight drunkards. This is light, liberty, and progress at Monaco! A simple-minded youth, whose father is a well-to-do shopkeeper, is welcomed and fleeced. He is continually losing half-frances for saying "Mon dieu!" and whenever anything has to be paid for, the bills are handed over to him. The great General Petrowski, the knight-errant of democracy and *commis-voyageur* of liberty, who undertakes to head the projected rebellion if he is provided with a gorgeous uniform and liberal pay, but who is sadly seared by the shadow of a gendarme, and a couple of very free and easy young ladies, complete the group. We are introduced to these amiable conspirators while they are engaged in concocting a number of their newspaper. *Rabagas* has just returned from successfully defending a victim of society who had kicked an old *garde-champêtre* to death with his wooden shoes; but then, as he argued, killing a *garde-champêtre* is not murdering a man, it is only crushing a principle. A subscription has been got up for a widow's pig which has been run over by the despot's carriage. Letters from correspondents are received and answers supplied. One has a scheme by which the working classes are to obtain ten hours' pay for five hours' work, with a whole holiday every Monday to allow for recovery from the relaxations of Sunday. Another reports the funeral oration of a materialist at the burial of his wife with civil rites, proving with much eagerness that he can never meet her again in any other world. A soldier writes to ask whether as a citizen he is bound to obey his sergeant, a question which is promptly answered in the negative.

While a rising against the Government is being planned with much enthusiasm, an invitation to a ball at the Palace arrives for *Rabagas*. His companions are disgusted that he should think of accepting it, especially as he will have to go in knee-breeches, the livery of servitude. He is warned that a man who begins with knee-breeches may come to decorations at last. The Democrats of Monaco share Mr. Peter Taylor's conscientious objections to the appearance of a "sans-culotte en culotte!" But *Rabagas* is not to be shaken in his determination to visit the Court. Robespierre, he says, wore knee-breeches, and, after all, they are only trousers cut short. So he goes and falls into the trap that has been laid for him. It was set and baited by a clever American widow, with whom the Prince is deeply in love, and who responds by pitying him, at least as a sovereign, and by doing what she can to help him in his difficulties with his subjects. She has seen through *Rabagas* and gets over him very much as the legate gets over the revolutionary leader in Browning's drama. What good, she asks, would he get by a revolution? It would go to the profit of the low fellows of the *Crapaud Volant*, if of anybody, and with such a set *Rabagas*, an aristocrat by genius, if not by birth, an aristocrat by his instinct for the good, the great, the delicate, the fine, could have no real sympathy. Opposition, the temptress argues, is not an end but a means, and the portfolio of Minister is better worth having than the leadership of a pothouse club. *Rabagas* yields; he takes office as the Prince's chief adviser; but when the mob, howling around the palace, learn his appointment, their rage is doubled instead of being calmed; they receive him, when he presents himself on the balcony, with groans and hootings, and he is the first to propose that the dragons should charge the people. Having borrowed the Prince's carriage, he is captured by mistake and imprisoned in the Hôtel de Ville, where he witnesses a succession of impromptu Governments. For broad humour this is perhaps one of the most telling passages in the comedy. A provisional Government having established itself in the green room, another Government turns the key on it and installs itself in the yellow room. Soon after a third Government, entering by the window, establishes itself in the red room, and locks up the yellow room Government, which still holds captive the green room one. But this last escapes by the chimney, returns by the cellars, and compels the red Government to jump out of the window by which it had entered, while the yellow Government seeks shelter on the roof. The chiefs arrest each other, and up to the time at which *Rabagas* himself escaped there had been three Governments in three-quarters of an hour. Anybody who will take the trouble to turn back to an account of the 4th of September and 31st of October will perhaps be surprised to find how closely the history of those days approaches to Sardou's broad farce. The joke, however, has at least a serious side for the Parisians, which might, on reflection, tempt them, as the vulgar phrase goes, to laugh on the other side of their mouth. *Rabagas*, played out in Monaco, starts for France, the only country, he says, where people of his stamp are appreciated. And with this the play ends. In character *Rabagas* resembles Ollivier more than Gambetta, though he exhibits some traits of both. The object, no doubt, is to discredit the democratic Republicans, and this object will perhaps be accomplished with the assistance of the Government, which may be surprised to find hereafter that it has thus been undermining its own position.

The political significance of *Rabagas* is emphasized when it

is construed along with another piece by the same writer—a piece of a very different kind, but with much the same moral. In *Le Roi Carotte*, which is not a comedy but a burlesque, there is little, if any, trace of Sardou's incisive and vigorous wit, at least in the published version; but the censorship may have dealt with it less indulgently than with his later play. Prince Fridolin, who is supposed to recall memories of the Empire, is a light-hearted, frolicsome monarch, who has led rather a wild life, and is now disposed to settle down and behave respectably. He is deposed by *Le Roi Carotte*, a wretched creature composed by a witch out of the vegetables she has boiled in her caldron; his misfortunes help to sober him and to cure him of his fondness for a certain Princess Cunégonde, who may be presumed to typify the Quartier Bréda. The fickleness of the populace and the treachery of courtiers are illustrated by Fridolin's experience, and in the end he is restored to his throne with every promise of a reputable reign. In the course of his adventures he is cast by shipwreck on the Island of Monkeys, and the antics of the apes are supposed to point to some of the peculiarities of the Commune. Another popular burlesque, *Qui veut voir la Lune?* exhibits a couple of Parisians, who, visiting the moon, are received as the "monkeys of the earth," and welcomed to a Republic "one and invisible"; but even in the moon Republics are not exempt from the fatal influence of reaction. It is tolerably clear that the intention of the satirists is to ridicule the democratic impatience and inconstancy of the capital. The bourgeoisie finds it an easy way of settling old scores with the Radicals to go to the theatre and laugh at them; but perhaps it may turn out that ridicule is not so potent an influence in politics as most Frenchmen imagine, and that revolutions are not to be averted by simply going to the play.

THE VIRTUES OF RED TAPE.

IN one of those naval tales which formed the delight of a past generation there is an amusing account of a triangular duel, which, as far as our memory serves, ran somewhat in this fashion:—A had quarrelled with B and C, while these latter had no cause of mutual dispute. But, in order to bring matters to an issue as speedily as possible, and to save time, the following arrangement was planned and carried out by a second, whose ideas on these subjects were taken from the code of Sir Lucius O'Trigger. A, who owed satisfaction to the other two disputants, was to fire at B; and B, instead of returning A's shot, was to aim at C, with whom he had no difference, while C was to clear off his own score and that of B with A, by firing at this person. In the end, if we remember right, one man was shot in the cheek, and went off the ground wondering if he should be able to hail, or give the word of command in a gale of wind. Another of the combatants was hit in a more equivocal part of the person, but no one was killed or maimed, and the affair terminated "satisfactorily." The late disclosures of the proceedings of the Admiralty show that business has been conducted pretty much on the idea of responsibility which was present in the mind of the officer in Marryat's tale when he sketched out the above plan for a duel. Letters are received and opened by anybody, are minuted in one department, and are sent on for the answer to be drafted by another, while the reply is signed and issued by a Secretary who has never seen the original communication, the minute, or the draft. We may, however, for the present, leave this nautical chaos, these phantom Boards, and those inchoate reforms which appear only to have ramified error and to have facilitated confusion, to the remedies which will doubtless be suggested or proposed by Lord Lawrence and his colleagues. We merely hope to show how now business is conducted in a great Dependency where the officials certainly do not err on the side of moderation in letter-writing, and where a bad system of record and revision might lead to errors as formidable in their consequences as those under which unroasted coffee was served out to troops in a Russian winter, or a rotten ship was freighted with valuable lives, and exposed to the gales of the Southern Ocean.

The Government of India, presided over, as all are aware, by a Viceroy, assisted by the Commander-in-Chief, by a general officer known as the Military Member of Council, by an eminent jurist, by two experienced Indian administrators, and, occasionally, by an English financier, is divided into five great departments, to which very recently there has been added a sixth—that of Agriculture and Commerce. Under the Imperial or Supreme Government, so constituted, are no less than eight subordinate or local governments—that is to say, the Governorships of Madras and Bombay, the three Lieutenant-Governors of Bengal, Agra, and Lahore, and the three Chief Commissioners of the Central Provinces, Oudh, and British Burmah. For our present purpose these are sufficient, without taking into account the kingdom of Mysore, administered in a paternal fashion during the minority of its lawful possessor, and the important Political Agencies or Residencies in Rajpootana, Central India, and Nepal. Before explaining the distribution of business between the Viceroy and his councillors, we shall endeavour to show how correspondence is registered, examined, noted, or minuted on, and finally recorded, in each or any of the great departments of an Indian Secretariat. The system, which sprang from the counting-house and has gradually been adapted to the requirements of a vast Empire, is, with some slight modifications, essentially the same and is worked with success and regularity, in the furnace blasts of Upper India, in the steamy atmosphere of British Burmah, or where the fresh sea breezes blow along the esplanade of Bombay.

At the head of every Secretariat is an official termed a Registrar or Chief Clerk. This official is invariably taken from the Unconventured Civil Service, is often of Eurasian extraction, has spent the greater portion, if not the whole, of his life in the country, and receives from 700*l.* to 900*l.* a year. The chief duties of this person are to distribute the work amongst the clerks of the office, to take care that current business never falls into arrear owing to temporary and unavoidable absences, to open every letter that comes to hand either by post or by messengers, to see that the work of transcribing, printing, and recording in the office, as well as of despatching missives from it, does not fall into confusion, and, generally speaking, to keep the whole framework and machinery in complete working order. The registrar at 9.30 or 10 o'clock commences the operations of the day by opening every letter, and noting in a book the date of despatch and that of receipt, the official title of the sender, and the subject of the correspondence. When he has ascertained, which he generally does at a glance, to what subdivision of the Secretariat the communication belongs, he delivers it to a clerk, whose peculiar business it is to "docket" the same. Every letter, if possible, is folded after the same pattern; and on the back, in addition to particulars of date, name of transmitting officer, and so forth, is inscribed a brief and accurate *précis* of the contents. The letter, so prepared, is then given to a clerk, who looks up all previous correspondence bearing on the question; and in a well-regulated and well-officed department it is marvellous in how brief a space dusty records and ancient red-leather volumes are scanned and made to yield up their hidden treasures. When this operation is concluded, the pile of correspondence, arranged chronologically, is laid before the Under-Secretary. This gentleman is a Conventured civilian, chosen usually from among the most promising members of his service, and he has probably resided in India from four to eight or ten years. If the matter be one of routine, or fixed precedent, or one where the office is used as a mere channel of communication with other departments, it is disposed of by the Under-Secretary himself, or after a reference to the Secretary, who, like his deputy, is a Civil servant, but of much older standing. If the subject be new or controversial, as many are in a huge Empire and a hot and irritating climate, the Under-Secretary masters the case, and transmits it with a formal note, or with such brief suggestions of the points for decision as his intelligence or previous experience in the executive lines may warrant him in giving. If the case is one of those interminable disputes on education, land revenue, changes in the police, or in the mode of taxation, which are variously the terror or the delight of Indian administrators, the bundle is carried home, analysed in the early hours of the day, and melted down into an exhaustive *précis* or a masterly "note." The papers then come before the mature and experienced Secretary, who may send them on with a brief comment, or with an addition of his own, or may perhaps be fired with some bright idea, and so give an unexpected turn or a new life to the whole controversy. From the Secretary to the Governor or Lieutenant-Governor the transmission is short and easy. When the papers have been systematically arranged and analysed, when the *précis* or note is clear, when the suggestions are incisive and full of good sense, the labour of the Indian statesman is considerably shortened. Boxes are emptied and piles of correspondence disappear, or are knocked over like the knights in the lists at Ashby before the spear of Ivanhoe. An experienced hand will know when he may safely rely on his subordinates, what subjects he may dispose of on the note or the *précis* by a few curt remarks in pencil, and what bundles he must keep by him until he has mastered every line of the huge written debate, and can shape the plan of action in some minute which shall provoke an animated discussion in the Council Chamber at Simla, or even awaken a host of genial reminiscences in the minds of retired administrators at Westminster.

Let it not be imagined that such a careful system of record, preparation, and inspection by two or three different officials, is incompatible with the prompt despatch of business, or with the issue offhand of instructions to executive officers on an emergency or a crisis. Whenever anything unpleasant occurs in any province or district of the Empire, the telegraph is put in motion, and the Governor is advised through the wires of the event that has happened, and of the inevitable Report which is to follow. As soon as a despatch finds its way into the hands of the Registrar—say, on a sudden *émeute*, an inundation, the destruction of a great mart by fire, or a dormant feud which has again broken out and has resulted in a whole batch of killed and wounded—it is taken out of the regular routine, and forwarded with a red label to the Secretary, who flies with it to the Governor, whom he probably finds to be fully informed of the calamity by a long demi-official letter penned for His Honour by the Magistrate or Commissioner. The celerity of despatch on which one of the *Megara* witnesses prided himself is obviously indispensable in India, where troops have to be moved to protect a frontier from a raid, or measures taken to shelter a starving, drowning, or burnt-out population. But we will give a few samples of the work of an Indian Secretariat. Simpkin, the active Magistrate of Shikarpore, writes through the Commissioner to say that he has been at work continuously for the last thirty-three months; that his district is in excellent order; and that he hopes for the two months' leave of absence which the "exigencies of the service" prevented him from obtaining a year ago. The real reason for the leave is dropped out in a demi-official enclosed in the formal letter and directed to Blake, the Under-Secretary, a college friend, who is told that there is to be a grand gathering of sportsmen at the celebrated hunting-grounds of the Brahma-

putra, or in the jungles of Rohilkund, where the absence of Simpkin would be much regretted. It is needless to say that the letter is passed on with extraordinary promptitude, and the leave probably granted. Robinson, who is of an archaeological turn of mind, sends up a copper plate which has just been dug up in some old fort, and which he conceives may throw some light either on the great controversy between Buddhists and Brahmins, or on the limits of the ancient and well-known kingdom of Mithila. The Under-Secretary, being lukewarm on these matters, suggests that Robinson be thanked, and that the copper plate be made over to the Asiatic Society. A Commissioner pens a hurried line to say that he is off as hard as a palanquin and relays of bearers can carry him, to investigate on the spot a tremendous row between the members of the great rival creeds in the East, and that all he can say at present is that three men are reported dead and ten wounded, and that he is credibly informed that the occurrence is due either to the act of a low caste Hindoo who slaughtered a pig in front of a mosque, or to that of a fanatic Mohammedan who flung the shinbone of an ox at the head of a venerable and orthodox Brahmin just as he was stepping out of the temple of the goddess Kali. The Commissioner is informed in reply that His Honour will await his promised Report with anxiety, and that the officer commanding the nearest military station has been warned to hold a detachment of the Ballygunge Irregulars in readiness to march at half an hour's notice. A collector writes in despair at the falling off in the receipts of the wheel-tax. A magistrate asks whether he should reward, or should commit to the Sessions, one of the village watch, who, going his rounds at night, espied the head of a burglar issuing from a hole in the wall of a shopkeeper's house, and, without further question, smote him so that his life was despaired of by the Civil Surgeon. From one district comes an account of a hailstorm which has destroyed whole acres of the poppy-plant, and has seriously impaired the prospects of the next opium season; from a second, intimation that a bridge, or a barrack, lately built by the Department of Public Works, has cracked from top to bottom; and from a third, an announcement that a rich native banker, whose eldest son has miraculously recovered from an attack of cholera, is willing to expend the sum of 1,000*l.* on the construction of a new road, or the deepening or clearing out of an enormous old reservoir. One functionary presses on the attention of the Government the propriety of looking after the head of a new sect, who is preaching general repentance and humiliation, but who is believed to hold heterodox doctrines concerning the payment of taxes and the proprietorship of land. Another has rashly revived a discussion which regards the peculiar position of a Rajah whose ancestor was exempted from the operation of the General Laws and Regulations by the policy of Lord Wellesley, and who is described as an anomaly and an anachronism that ought to be summarily put down. All these cases, and scores of others for which we have no space, according to their several degrees of urgency and importance, are submitted to the various functionaries already described by us; not one letter in one thousand is lost, stolen, or strayed; no one signs letters without seeing the order or the draft of what he is signing; and no one records orders without having it in his power to see whether they are duly carried out. When orders have been passed, the papers are dealt with on the same principle. The Under-Secretary drafts and issues all ordinary correspondence. Anything at all out of the common run is written, or revised, or seen by the Secretary; and in highly important letters the actual language receives the imprimatur of the Governor.

We now come to the division of labour amongst the members of the Council of the Viceroy. In former times, when the Government was rather more autocratic and proconsular, the Governor-General took the lead in all business, and was the first to see every letter or bundle. As the Empire grew in extent and business multiplied, the following system was devised by the late Lord Canning, and by Sir J. P. Grant, the present Governor of Jamaica, and, with some alterations and improvements, it is now still in force. The Viceroy takes to himself the whole of the Foreign Department, embracing our policy in Central Asia, in the Persian Gulf, and even the Chinese waters, and our relations with the whole tribe of independent, semi-independent, and feudatory States adjoining or lying within the Indian Peninsula. Lord Mayo has also at one time undertaken the conduct of the department of Public Works. The Military Department, which is a thing wholly distinct from the discipline and management of the army, was in the hands of the late Sir H. Durand, and is now worked by General Norman. Sir Richard Temple is the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Mr. Fitzjames Stephen is a fitting successor to Sir H. Maine as legal member; and the other departments, of which the Home is the most overworked, are entrusted to two very able civilians, one of whom represents Bengal and the other Bombay. The Commander-in-Chief has no *portefeuille* in the Government of India, though he assists at all its deliberations, executive and legislative. Lord Napier has, however, for the management of the forces, his Adjutant-General, his Quartermaster-General, and his Judge-Advocate. But these officers have no direct connexion with the Government of India. A great deal of the vast business of that Government is disposed of by the members of Council or by the Viceroy, working, as it were, in isolation and independence. But no case remarkable by its importance or its novelty, nothing that involves any material departure from routine or precedent, no reform in education, finance, jurisprudence, or general policy of

any kind, ever fails to come under the direct cognizance of the Viceroy. While ordinary business is transacted by the member of the department, with its Secretary and Under-Secretary, everything of political moment and of real value ends by being debated by the whole conclave. This system has been so admirably organized and is so thoroughly understood that, while the Viceroy is relieved of an enormous mass of detail, routine, and uninteresting business, he is never left in the dark while solid reforms are under preparation, and he is invariably referred to first by each individual member whenever it is proposed to amend the laws, to alter the form of taxation, to add to the police force, to increase the pay or the number of the native Judges, to reform gaol discipline, or to consider, not only those questions which we should designate as Cabinet questions in this country, but those which involve in any way the permanent interests of the humblest Englishman or the lowest caste of Hindoos. The system, to our thinking, secures a reasonable distribution of work and a right division of labour, together with the proper concentration of authority and responsibility in the head of the Indian Cabinet. Lord Lawrence was, and Lord Mayo is, as fully responsible for a bad or good law, for an unpopular or an equitable tax, as he is for an impolitic move in the direction of the Llama of Thibet, or the Jam of Lus Beyla, or the Khan of Kelat. Whether such a system, tried, proved, and never found deficient, could or could not be adapted to the business of the Admiralty, we cannot now stop to inquire. But it is quite certain that, whatever may be the errors or the shortcomings of the Indian Government in actual administration, work is there got through, as far as each bureau is concerned, with a regularity, a despatch, and a completeness which illustrate the excellences of that much-abused article of stationery which has supplied us with a title to this paper.

THE SPEAKERSHIP.

THERE could hardly be a better example of the way in which English institutions are gradually built up and adapted to the circumstances of each period than the office in which Mr. Brand is about to succeed Mr. Denison. The Speaker of the House of Commons is a remarkable illustration of the continuity of politics. The constitution of the office is to be sought in a bundle of historical precedents. Its origin may be traced to the principle of natural selection. A crowd of men summoned from different parts of the country to bargain with the King as to the amount of money to be paid to him was helpless without a mouthpiece, and the hubbub of voices was hushed in order that one might speak with authority for all. The Speaker was, as it were, the foreman of the jury, and, with such hints probably as a preliminary meeting might furnish, he had to plead and higgler for his fellows as best he could. A glib tongue, with some adroitness and smoothness of manner covering a good deal of moral courage and stiffness of purpose, was the primary qualification for the post. Softness of speech was pretty much in proportion to the moderation of the King's demands; if he held out for large sums, he had to take hard words with the grant, and very plain language was sometimes used with regard to the favourites of the hour, who tainted the honour and wasted the revenues of the Crown. It was natural that the Commons should endeavour to conciliate the Sovereign by choosing as their spokesman some one who was personally agreeable to him; and, on the other hand, the Sovereign was not long in perceiving the advantage to be derived from having in his own hands the choice of the agent with whom he had to negotiate for supplies. Hence the usage of presenting the Speaker for the Sovereign's approval, although to this hour it has never been formally determined whether this sanction is really necessary. A conflict on this point has been carefully avoided, the Commons no doubt thinking that it did not much matter how the Speaker was appointed as long as they had the absolute and exclusive right to dictate what he should say. On the only occasion on which the Crown positively refused to accept the nominee of the Commons, another was, after some demur, elected and approved. On the other hand, when Charles I. was a prisoner in the keeping of Parliament and the army, when the Convention Parliaments of the Restoration and Revolution were summoned, and again when George III. was in seclusion, Speakers were elected without communication with the Crown. A presentation to the House of Lords was in these instances deemed sufficient. The Speaker of the House of Commons is still the *parleur* of that body, but his most important functions are of another kind. As the power of the House increased, the question became, not how much money the Sovereign would be content to accept, but how much the House chose to grant; it recorded its resolutions on the subject, and practically there was then an end of the matter. The original duty of the Speaker has thus passed away. Since the Revolution his chief business has been to regulate the proceedings, to put questions, and to maintain order in the assembly over which he presides. There is a tradition that a garrulous Speaker once treated Queen Elizabeth to a speech of two hours, while another inflicted an address twice as long on her successor. A member of the present House of Commons has remarked that it is much easier to talk than to listen; but the Speaker is practically incapacitated from taking part in the debates, and has no longer an opportunity of indemnifying himself for his reticence in the House by his loquacity before the Throne. It is rarely that he has to address the Sovereign, and the occasions on which he has to convey the thanks of the country to a distinguished public

servant, or to rebuke an offender at the bar, are scarcely more frequent. A great capacity for silence is an indispensable qualification for the Speakership. Mr. Gladstone's worst enemies would not be cruel enough to condemn him to the Chair.

The importance which is attached to the prestige of the office as held undivided by one man, and sustained by the confidence of the House, is attested by the reluctance which has always been shown to permit the duties to be discharged by deputy, except in the case of urgent and extreme necessity. The House has frequently adjourned, or taken care not to make a quorum to commence a sitting, in order to release the Speaker, without providing a substitute. A few years ago it was arranged that the Chairman of Committees should, as a matter of course, preside in the Speaker's absence; but a proposal that the latter should enjoy some relief from constant attendance was decisively rejected. It is necessary that the office should be individualized, in order that it may carry with it the full measure of respect. Uniformity of decision would be endangered if it were put into commission. The errors or indiscretions of one of the Commissioners would reflect discredit on the body; and the appearance of different men in the Chair would weaken the sentiment of personal deference with which its occupant ought to be regarded. The absolutism of the President necessarily makes large demands on the confidence and respect of the assembly. It may be remarked that submission to the Speaker has become more complete in proportion as it has been made clear that his authority is derived from, and is exercised in obedience to, the House itself. The doubts which prevailed in former days as to whether the Speaker was the House's man or the King's man gave rise to ill-disguised suspicions and unseemly altercations. During the stormy debates on privilege in James I.'s time, we find one member declaring that he "will spare none, though they sit in chairs," while another "admonisheth Mr. Speaker that sometimes he neglecteth his duty to the House in intruding or deferring the question"; and a third finds it necessary to remind the Speaker that "he is but the servant of the House, not a master, nor a master's mate." Edward Seymour, though a strict disciplinarian, used to be chafed for his beardless chin and his losses at play, as well as more gravely rebuked for the haunts which he frequented to the scandal of good citizens. Once, it is recorded, a member put out his tongue at a Speaker, while on another occasion a member, gliding behind the Chair, shouted "Bauh!" to the "great terror and affright" of the occupant. Happily Mr. Brand need be under no apprehension of tricks of this kind. Everything is now done to show honour to the Speaker. The members rise when he enters or leaves the House, they bow when they pass before the Chair, and they are also careful to raise their hats if they meet their President out of doors. His decision on a question is rarely challenged, and never without the utmost deference and respect, while his invitations to dinner rank as commands next to those of the Sovereign. At the close of each sitting the cry, "Who goes home?" is supposed to summon, as of old, an escort of members to attend the Speaker to his residence; only, as he lives in a wing of the same palace which contains the House itself, the escort is conveniently dispensed with. On a memorable occasion a Speaker told the King that he had neither tongue, eyes, nor ears but what the House gave him; and this is illustrated by his obligatory blindness to the emptiness of the House when his attention is not expressly called to it. He is not allowed to take notice that less than forty members are present unless a member refers to it. Even if he were left alone, he could not move the adjournment of the House; and it is said that once it happened that he was actually deserted without a formal motion for adjournment, and had to sit till some one could be found to move his release. Nor can he inflict punishment without the order of the House, although it would appear that in certain cases he is entitled to "name" an offending member, and the result of naming him would be his ejection by the Serjeant-at-arms if he refused to withdraw of his own accord. Speakers have been known occasionally to exercise somewhat arrogant authority over the House, and the right of *cloture* has even been assumed to exist. "You have a right to speak," said Spencer Compton on one occasion, "but the House has a right to judge whether it will hear you." This right, however, has never been enforced by a vote, marks of impatience and disorder being deemed sufficient to express the disinclination of the assembly to listen to an intrusive or prolix orator.

A Speaker, disparaging his own appearance and qualities, once drew an ideal picture of the kind of man who ought to fill the post—"a man big and comely, stately and well spoken, his voice great, his carriage majestic, his nature haughty, and his purse plentiful and heavy." This last qualification has ceased to be indispensable, a sufficient income and pension being now attached to the office; but it was certainly desirable, in days when the Speaker's revenue was mainly derived from fees, that the possession of private means should place him above the temptation of accepting bribes. Two Speakers have been expelled for this offence. The other qualifications are still desirable, and though Mr. Brand cannot be called big, or his carriage majestic, there is no reason to suppose that the dignity of the office will suffer during his incumbency. It may perhaps be thought that it is very easy to sit in a padded chair, crying "Order, order!" now and then, and only rising to put a question or to announce the result of a division. But, in the first place, even this is, when continuous, anything but a light labour, and, in the next place, it is only a part of the Speaker's duties. It is said that Arthur Onslow once sat in the Chair for seventeen hours, and Mr. Denison must often have

sat for ten or twelve hours with only the little break of a quarter of an hour at nine o'clock. It is calculated that Lord Eversley sat for something like 18,000 hours during his term of office. At any time the physical fatigue of even eight or nine hours in the Chair must be considerable, but allowance must also be made for the mental weariness and depression of listening to rapid talk and the dreary repetition of exhausted arguments. Members come and go, and even a Minister can snatch an hour or two for dinner or perhaps a visit to the Opera; the Serjeant-at-arms has his deputy who divides the night with him, and sometimes relieves him altogether; the reporters flit in and out in frequent turns. But the Speaker must sit through it all, with just such relief as may be got from a slight change of posture in his chair, leaning back or sitting upright, crossing one leg or another. He is tied to his seat as tightly by the obligations of his office as Finch was by the resolute arms which held him down while Eliot read out his famous Resolution. It is perhaps difficult for any one who has not tried it to realize the utter weariness of such an experience. It is not every one who is gifted with such energetic wakefulness as to be able to resist the soporific influence of the Parliamentary MacFlecnos. Speaker Cornwall, who had a sonorous voice, imposing figure, and all the physical qualities for the place save one, was not proof against the drowsy atmosphere of the assembly; and a contemporary bard has recorded his agonizing efforts to keep himself awake:—

Like sad Prometheus fastened to the rock,
In vain he looks for pity to the clock;
In vain the power of strengthening porter tries,
And nods to Bellamy for fresh supplies.

"I am tired," Speaker Norton used to exclaim in a dull debate, "I am weary, I am heartily sick of this"; but we are afraid that a Speaker of our day would hardly venture to exhibit such candid impatience. If a member wanders from the subject before the House, he has a right to check him; but there is no measure of the proper length of speeches, and even the House itself cannot authorise the Speaker to check an unduly prolix orator whose love of talking gets the better of his modesty and good sense. The mere putting of questions is simple enough, but points of order occasionally arise which it is less easy to decide off-hand, especially as the spirit as well as the letter of a rule has to be taken into account. The duty of determining which member out of a number who rise simultaneously has caught the Speaker's eye has been simplified by the practice, when there is a great debate, of arranging the order of speakers beforehand through the medium of the Whips; but occasions still occur when it is a delicate and embarrassing question to say who shall be declared to be in possession of the House. Not the least important part of the Speaker's work is that which he discharges out of the Chair when the House is not sitting. He is usually in his study by noon, and many awkward questions in regard to points of order or the arrangement of business are settled there quietly, without being brought before the House at all. A private hint from the Speaker, or a few minutes' conversation with him, will often remove a difficulty which might prove troublesome if a public decision were demanded from the Chair. When Lord Eversley was Speaker, he got over an important constitutional difficulty by suggesting that clauses or amendments passed by the House of Lords which infringed the taxing privileges of the House of Commons should be printed in italics, or, as is now the custom, in red ink; thus the Lords can indicate their meaning without offending the jealousy of the Lower House. Some of Mr. Denison's hints have been equally valuable. The smooth working of our Parliamentary system, which those who look at it from the outside are disposed to attribute to the perfection of the machinery, is not a little due to the judicious oiling of the wheels, and the careful supervision which keeps little gritty obstructions out of them.

HATBANDS AND SCARFS.

WHEN Lord Bantam succeeds by his father's death to the hereditary title of Earl Ffowlesmere, his first act of independence is to overhaul the bill of Messrs. Rooking, the undertakers, one item alone in which—"two hundred and ten silk hatbands at 30s. each"—led him to the conclusion that "the honour of a funeral in Westminster Abbey was altogether too dear." With a strength of mind that showed a commendable superiority to custom and public opinion, the new Earl set his butler to count the number of hatbands at his father's funeral, and succeeded triumphantly in reducing Messrs. Rookings' bill. But though the shoe pinches even worse with small folks than with great, it would seem that, as a rule, the cost of the last obsequies goes quite untaxed, a sense of delicacy towards the memory of the dead recoiling from all question of "nicely calculated less or more," where the chief object is to be unsparing of the customary tribute of respect and regret. There is, no doubt, much to be said for this pious acquiescence. Weeping eyes are ill able to scrutinize the quality of silks and the freshness of crapes; and in any case there is an unfitness in the exercise of sharp-sighted economies in the house, and at the time, of mourning. Yet this is no reason why custom should not disencumber itself of certain outrageous superfluities, and try back to a simplicity which might be quite as respectful to the dead, as well as less burdensome to the living—not to speak of the moral advantage of removing sore temptation from the path of the functionary whom

comedies, novels, and general experience concur in representing as the sole gainer by the exaggeration of outward manifestations of respect for the dead, whereby in very truth *corruptio optimi fit pessima*.

The time is seasonable for raising this question, inasmuch as it has been announced that the clergy of one of the London districts have resolved henceforward to decline accepting the scarfs, gloves, and hatbands which have heretofore formed no inconsiderable addition to the burial fee, and which in some cases have brought the sacred profession into discredit by tempting the poor incumbent into an unseemly sort of "sale and barter"—namely, a negotiation for the return of these useless trappings in reduction of his mercer's bill. There can be little doubt that in this social reform many of the laity would gladly follow the example of their spiritual pastors, for these insignia of mourning are as awkward and ugly as they are useless; and nothing but lack of moral courage to lead the way impedes the reduction of the amount of ceremonial and paraphernalia on such occasions to a minimum consistent with due solemnity and common sense. Now and then, indeed, a noble testator leaves instructions in his will that he be buried plainly and quietly, and by a decisive stroke of the pen displays at once consideration for his friends and wariness as regards undertakers. One fine old squire we have heard of who, having no mind for feathers, velvets, mutes, and pages to make his obsequies senselessly formal and ridiculous, left it in charge to his executors to have his body placed in a plain oak coffin, and conveyed by his own carriage horses in his own "break" to the place of burial, without mourning-coach or hearse—no pall, no hatbands, no scarfs, and only such following as the necessities of the occasion and the unbidden respect of friends and neighbours might ensure. A more sensible *cortège* never traversed "the way to dusty death." Unfortunately, however, there is always a large number of persons who, measuring sorrow by the number of folds of crape, exercise their severity of criticism upon those who forsake the customary groove, and who respectfully carry out such considerate and sensible provisions. Hence timid heirs come to disregard this sort of testamentary veto upon costly obsequies, or else compromise the matter for fear of incurring the opprobrium of stinginess. They have no affection for a mummy which has neither taste nor picturesqueness to recommend its continuance; and if it were a personal concern, they would be foremost in deprecating such waste; but the fear of evil tongues becomes paramount at a time when the question is pressing, and the mind is unready and unbinged. Thus it is that a custom which is generally voted hollow and superfluous holds its own, to the enrichment of a class of tradesmen who, we suppose, compound with their dislike of ridicule, and taking the bitter with the sweet, endure the shafts of satirists and humorists so long as they can do a good thing in "best gentlemen's black kids at 4s. 6d." and "ten guineas for the use of velvet pall, satin-lined." As we descend to the lower strata of society, it is curious to observe the strange influences which conduce to the retention of the custom of going to the utmost verge of cost and display for the "last tribute of respect." It might be expected that in this rank of life pride, imitation, and the spirit of rivalry would co-operate with the influence of custom in prompting a family to bury its dead with no less outward ceremonial than its fathers used, even though divisions and subdivisions have reduced the patrimony, and rendered needless cost especially undesirable. But still meaner motives occasionally come into play. There is a story of a disconsolate widower of this class who, within a shamefully brief space after his wife's death, applied to the clergyman of his parish to publish his banns for a second marriage. The rector expostulated. It was like Hamlet's mother—"a little month, or ere the shoes were old"; and here he was proposing to take to himself another mate. But the widower was justified by his own code of "the proper and becoming" in such matters, and it came out that a funeral about which no expense was spared was, in his view, an absolution from all further concern, regret, or mournful remembrance. "I buried her handsom', sir," he said; "I buried her handsom'. Hatbands and scarves, the lecturer and the curates and all; hatbands and scarves! I buried her handsom'."

But this "burying handsome" is apt to superadd the pressure of heavy expense to the bitterness of death and bereavement. It is true that with millionaires and great territorial magnates the most sumptuous funeral expenses can form but an inappreciable item in the vast list of contingencies involved in the maintenance of many houses and many retainers. If the reform begins with the testamentary injunctions of such persons, it must at least be admitted that their action is entitled to the praise of unselfishness. The real champions of the *status in quo*, the unwilling supporters of the undertakers, mutes, and mourning-coaches, are the gentlefolk of moderate incomes, who reverence the authority of custom to an idolatrous excess, and are prepared to pinch themselves and encumber their estates rather than depart in any way from the measure of the expenditure and social pretension of their fathers. A lively insight into this condition of things is shown in a novel which was reviewed in these pages some three or four years ago—*A Screw Loose*. Towards the end of the third volume the hero's father, an embarrassed old squire, has died, and "the rites of the feudal Libitina" are in course of celebration. Here is a sample of the talk over the funeral baked meats:—"Why, what a lot of tomfoolery this is," protested the doctor, angrily; "the old bankrupt ought to be sent to the ground between eight deal boards provided at the parish expense, if he had his deserts.

Now there has been guzzling and drunkenness enough during the last five hours to devour half the future income of the whole family." "It's all part of the same system; this race of squires, my good sir, are getting used up very fast," remarked Mr. Old-square, the family lawyer. And in coarser language one of the tenants, a page or two further on, comments upon the inherent absurdity of such a state of things:—"The best mourners here is them he owes money to, and I spects there's many eno' on 'em, and their sorrow's real enough, for they must feel now they've little chance of being paid." It should be added that the heir and the solicitor had done their utmost to avoid lavishing on undertakers the small remnant which was barely enough to meet other exigencies, and had only waived their objection to "the very showy piece of upholstery drawn by four very creditably plumed black horses" in deference to a unanimous and strong expression of the feeling of the family. No doubt the novelist's satire refers rather to the burial feast than to the funeral weeds; and to what a pitch of ill-timed extravagance such feasting has been immemorially carried may be gleaned from a paper in *Notes and Queries* (January 27, 1872), "On the Usages and Expenses at a Dumfriesshire Funeral a Hundred Years Ago," from accounts in Irish tales of the customary "waking" of Irish gentlemen, and from the experience of those who know what an affair a funeral still is in Wales. But the advance of civilization must of itself tend to cure "guzzling and drunkenness" at such times. It is a more difficult matter, because it touches a sentimental chord, to reform the conventional custom with regard to that outward guise of woe which a writer in the *Times* justly calls one of "the most cruel and offensive of our social tyrannies." Even the keenest reformer would not dream of abolishing that customary wearing of black apparel which is adopted, we believe, by all sects of religionists except Quakers as the garb of mourning. The retrenchment need not be extended beyond the purely gratuitous paraphernalia, the showy, floating accessories of the so-called funeral pomp. Stories have been rife of good-for-nothing husbands who, when their wives died before them, bade the hearse-drivers go gently over the stones, lest they should wake again the tongue that had so late taken rest. Yet if a wife had been careful and thrifty in her lifetime, one would say that, if aught could rouse her from her last sleep, it would be the lavish waste of silk and crape and velvet which characterizes a funeral procession for no other end than to outrage real taste, and to offer a field for exorbitant exaction to the trade which lives by death. Some people, indeed, like the sort of thing, but would like also to cheapen it; and it is in their interest, and with a view to their patronage, that numberless advertisements invite mourners and executors to patronize the "Necropolis Company," "the Reformed Funerals Company" (Limited), "Shillibeer's Economic," and the like. All these profess a moderate tariff. They hold out the bait of "elegant equipages, chaste appointments, respectfully attired and well conducted men, careful supervision, and very reasonable charges." But this is only like making two bites of a cherry. The principle is retained, only it is to be carried out on a "cheap and nasty" scale; and most people will think that, if reform is to go no further than this, it were as well "to eat the devil as the broth he's boiled in." What is really required is that a sufficient number of persons weighty in their respective spheres of life, and weighty too through their known character and general maintenance of the decencies and proprieties of life in those spheres, should set themselves to effect a steady, if gradual, change of fashion as respects the needless accessories of mourning and the prescriptive extortions of undertakers. The sooner "the tinsel trash of state" is dissociated from death and burial, the more easy will be the contemplation of that other side of the grave where all are equal. Very few persons, it may be believed, when looking that change in the face, can say with Ennius, *Nemo me lacrimis decoret*; more commonly and naturally,

On some fond breast the parting soul relies,
Some pious drops the closing eye requires;

and there is a yearning for the genuine tribute expressed in the words—

His saltem accunulalem donis, et fangur inani
Munere.

Yet we question whether any human being, taking into account the uselessness of it to himself, and the tax inflicted upon his successors, ever found the near approach to the dark passage cheered, solaced, or enlivened by the vain prospect of being "buried handsome."

THE OLD CATHOLIC MOVEMENT IN FRANCE.

IT was well known at the time that the Court of Rome, with its wonted astuteness, had seized on the opportunity of Mgr. Darboy's timely removal and the embarrassments of M. Thiers's Government to insist on the nomination of a staunch Ultramontane—the first time for many years past—to the see of Paris. Dupanloup had been originally designated by the Government for the post, but it was privately intimated by the Papal Nuncio to M. Thiers that no minority bishop would be accepted by Rome, and the French President was weak enough to yield to the pressure put upon him. And accordingly the throne of Quelen, Affre, and Darboy has been filled by one of the feeblest and most narrow-minded of the septuagenarian adherents of the dominant faction. His first step, naturally enough, has been to suppress through-

out his diocese the *Paris* liturgy, with its noble hymns and comparatively unadulterated lectionary, in the interests of that dead uniformity which it has long been the unwisdom of Rome to mistake for unity. His next step, as was all along expected, and was of course intended—probably required—by those who secured his appointment, has been to demand of his clergy, many of whom were known to be decided anti-infallibilists, an *ex animo* submission to the new Vatican dogmas. We have had occasion already to notice the pusillanimous recantation of Father Gratry, who, from his previous writings on the subject, was the most prominent among them in vindicating the old faith. On the other hand, Father Hyacinthe had shown his unmistakable resolve to bear everything rather than profess to believe what he does not believe; and in the first number of the journal he has just started, the *Esperance de Rome*, he clearly defines his position as at once a loyal Catholic and a determined opponent of infallibilism:—

If [he observes] we venture, with all due deference to the Church, to demand reforms, let it be fully understood that we do not therefore renounce our title as Catholics. . . . We only ask for the reform of the Church within the Church, and if we frankly condemn the abuses committed by those who claim to be her sole representatives, we console ourselves with the recollection of her beneficence and her greatness.

Father Hyacinthe was the only spokesman of the French Opposition at the Munich Congress last September, but he was not its sole representative. Three other names are given in the official report, and one priest, whose name it somehow omitted, was also present, who bids fair to become the leader of the movement now organizing in France in connexion with the *Altkatholiken* of Germany and other countries of Europe.

Dr. Michaud, though he is a comparatively young man, has long been known as one of the ablest, if not the ablest, of the French priesthood. He was the friend of Lacordaire, Montalembert, and Archbishop Darboy, and has learnt from all of them, without becoming the disciple of any. His wide information, keen intellect, and great force of character alike indispose him *jurare in verba magistri*, and it is evident from his public utterances that he is now taking a bolder line than has been yet ventured upon by even the most fervid of his compatriots and comrades in the fray. He openly denounces Rome as heretical, and it is certainly difficult to see what other judgment could be consistently formed from his point of view. The tenet of Papal infallibility is so momentous a dogma that it can hardly escape the alternative of being either regarded as a sacred truth or an outrageous falsehood, and it is obvious to which category alone the Old Catholics could refer it. M. Michaud visited England last autumn, and was in communication with many distinguished divines, both of his own Church and of the Anglican. But he bided his time, feeling probably that his course would be clearer and his position stronger if he did not himself take the aggressive. Of course he had not long to wait. When the new Archbishop found himself firmly seated, he lost no time in requiring of his clergy an explicit acceptance of the new dogmas, and directing them to require it of their flocks as a condition of receiving the Sacraments. Dr. Michaud, who was one of the vicars—or, as we should say, curates—of the Madeleine, one of the principal parish churches in Paris, could not remain passive under such an injunction. He accordingly addressed a personal inquiry to the Archdeacon as to whether the Archbishop would allow confessors in his diocese to give absolution to those who rejected the Vatican Synod and its decrees; and whether the clergy themselves were at liberty, while continuing to say mass, to disbelieve those dogmas if they did not openly attack them? To both questions a decided negative was returned, although Archbishop Darboy a few days before his arrest had answered them, in a personal interview with M. Michaud, in a precisely opposite sense; and it seems that even the present Archbishop was himself at one period of his life opposed to Ultramontanism. This we gather from the letter addressed to him by M. Michaud on the 5th instant, and which is published at length in the *Journal des Débats* of the 7th, opening with the remark that, from 1845 to 1853 his Grace, as Bishop of Viviers, had “energetically attacked Ultramontanism, and Veuillot, its leader.” The letter soon afterwards proceeds:—

You, Monseigneur, at one time, when you were Bishop of Viviers declared that the Ultramontane party was anti-Catholic; but now you treat as heretics and schismatics the Catholics who persevere in rejecting Ultramontanism. You formerly defined Catholic truth to be that universal truth which, in the words of Vincent de Lerins, had “always been believed everywhere and by everybody”—*quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus creditum est*; but now this Catholic truth has degenerated in your mind to Roman truth. Formerly the Catholic Church was the agglomeration of all particular Churches, but now in your eyes and those of your adepts the Church is nothing else but Rome and the Pope. The universality of the Church of Jesus Christ is degraded to the individualism of one man. You, in fact, ignore Jesus Christ, and care only for His vicar, whom you make His master; for with you the Gospel is subordinate to the interpretation which the Pope may choose to put upon it. . . . the Gospel is no longer that of Jesus Christ, but the Bull which it may be the good pleasure of any present or future Borgia to issue.

This, the writer adds, is “un changement complet de drapeau,” and just as a French soldier would disgrace himself by deserting his national flag, so, too, it is a dishonour to a soldier of Christ to abandon the banner of Catholicism. In such a crime he will not be an accomplice, and he therefore sacrifices his office at the Madeleine and his honorary Canonry at Châlons, though well aware what this determination will cost him both in ecclesiastical and temporal penalties. An unjust excommunication will separate him, not from the Catholic Church, but only from Ultramontanism.

His future he leaves in the hands of God, not knowing where he may find even provision for his daily wants; his present duty is to remain loyal to conscience and to Catholic truth. Nor is he moved by being told that he is undermining the authority of the Church; for he holds that those are really undermining it who would merge its divine and primitive sanction in the absolutism of a single human will. And if he is told that the discharge of a solemn duty will give scandal, he replies that it is not sincere and intelligent men, but only cowards and fanatics, who will be scandalized. The real scandal is occasioned by “those sceptical priests and bishops who publicly accept the new dogma, while laughing in their sleeve.” Nor does he arrogate to himself that infallibility which he denies to an ignorant and peaceable man, though he be Pope. He does not stand alone in his protest. Without dwelling on the Armenian bishops, the priests and faithful of Hungary, Bohemia, Austria, Silesia, Bavaria, Wurtemberg, and other parts of Germany, who prefer excommunication to dishonesty, there are numbers in France, England, Italy, and Spain who reject the authority of the Vatican Synod, which a French bishop designated *Ludibrium Vaticanum*, as the modern correlative of the *Latrocinium* of Ephesus. Dr. Michaud adds that he knows enough of the clergy of the Roman Catholic Church to be aware that there are numbers of them who “completely repudiate in *foro interno* this *Conciliabulum*.” In conclusion he desires to insist on two points:—

First—I am, and will remain, a Catholic, not following the heterodox decisions of Ultramontanism, but adhering to the orthodox principle of ancient Catholicism, which is the sole true rule, admirably formulated by St. Vincent of Lerins, *quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus*. Secondly—I am, and will remain, a priest. Obligated for the moment to recognize in you [the Archbishop] the power, not of right but of force, I cannot indeed, thanks to the ignorance of the faithful, exercise my sacerdotal ministry in the churches under your jurisdiction. But the locality does not affect the validity of the sacraments.

Dr. Michaud adds that, wherever his services are desired, he shall continue to administer the sacraments of baptism, penance, marriage, the eucharist, and extreme unction, and to bury the dead, and shall say mass in his own house, and recite his breviary, acting as the early Christians did in the ages of persecution. And, when opportunity occurs, he will preach, and meantime will write, as will his friends also, to advance the cause of the true Church. A Committee will at once be formed to meet at his house, 74 Boulevard de Neuilly, in connexion with similar Committees in Russia, Germany, England, Italy, and Spain; and, as soon as the means are provided, a church will be opened, and the question thus publicly tried, under whatever practical difficulties, “who will eventually prevail, those who fight for Christ ruling the Pope by His Gospel, or those who fight for the Pope supplanting Christ by his *Syllabus*.”

Contemporaneous with this outspoken manifesto of a distinguished Parisian ecclesiastic, we have in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* the report of the first of a series of lectures in course of delivery by Dr. Dollinger in the Great Hall of the Museum at Munich, on the “Schemes for Reuniting the Christian Churches, and the Prospects of Future Union,” giving a masterly sketch of the present divisions of the Christian world, to be followed in the next lecture by a notice of its relations to the outlying religious communities of heathendom. In Italy Dr. Cassani is engaged in disproving at length the canonical authority of the Vatican Council, in a series of essays in the *Rinnovamento Cattolico* of Florence; so that it is by no means without influential protest from the most various quarters that, to quote the words of a recent Catholic author, Mr. Lowry Whittle, “the whole constitution of the Latin Church has been swept away,” so far as the Vatican Synod had power to effect the change. In what were probably the last words he ever spoke on the subject, a few days only before his imprisonment, Archbishop Darboy characterized the infallibilist dogma as “un dogme inepte.” It is possible that the Court of Rome may be compelled at its cost to acquiesce in a similar conclusion. It has all along been notorious that a large section of the Parisian clergy share Dr. Michaud’s convictions, and now that the ice has once been broken, some at least may have the manliness to declare themselves. And it is anyhow significant that the Old Catholic movement should have been taken up by the clergy of a nation which, as Dr. Dollinger lately observed, is the habitual interpreter of world-stirring ideas and discoveries to Europe, and by a man marked out alike by his antecedents, his attainments, and his eloquence as one of the most eminent and influential of the clerical body. There is something almost grotesque in the circumstance that only a few days before the publication of Dr. Michaud’s letter the Abbé Theodore Loyson, the Ultramontane brother of Father Hyacinthe, in a lecture at the Sorbonne on the “Catholic Renaissance of France, and the Schism of Munich,” was indiscreet enough to assert, with a somewhat premature outburst of devout gratitude, that “the German Schism, thank God, will not invade France.” The “German Schism” has meanwhile just obtained a signal victory in the Bavarian Chambers, where the Ultramontane party strained all their energies to upset the liberal policy of the present Ministry, and arm the bishops with legal powers to eject from their benefices all priests—beginning of course with Dollinger—who reject the new dogma. They were defeated, in a House containing an unusually large proportion of clerical members, the most noticeable feature of the debate being an energetic speech of Professor Sepp, who was till lately a strong Ultramontane, against the dogma, the crooked means by which it had been smuggled through the Vatican Synod by the creation of a crowd of titular

bishops, the slavish submission and intolerance of the German episcopate, and the character of their adherents, whom he described as "the old and young women of both sexes." The greater part of the bishops, he declared, do not themselves believe in the dogma, and, turning to the clerical portion of his audience, he added, amid shouts of laughter, "Do you believe it yourselves?" Dr. Reithmayr, the one theological professor of Munich who sided with Döllinger, is just dead, and it is expected that his place will be supplied by Reinkens, one of the leaders of the *Altkatholik* party. At Cologne the first *Altkatholik* service has been celebrated in the church of St. Pantaleon, Dr. Taugermann, who spoke at the Munich Congress, singing High Mass, and preaching from the words, "You shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free." Another church at Cologne is also handed over to the Old Catholics. The movement is thus strengthening its hold and enlarging its area in Germany, while the war cry is echoed from the opposite bank of the Rhine, from the very bosom of that clergy whose "filial devotion" to herself has been the standing boast of Rome.

ROMANESQUE ARCHITECTURE IN LOMBARDY

WE spoke lately at some length of both the historical associations and the architectural remains of three of the noblest cities of what in the oldest geography was the borderland of Italy and Cisalpine Gaul. From Ravenna, Lucca, and Pisa we will ask our readers to follow us back into that old Gaulish land which in mediæval times became the truest Italy. From Tuscany we will again turn ourselves northward, and trace the form assumed by Romanesque art in a district which, in the fluctuations of Italian geographical nomenclature, we may perhaps be allowed to speak of as specially Lombardy. This is a Lombardy which stretches on both sides of the Po, but which does not take in the cities of the land known at different times as Venetia, as the Veronese or the Trevisan March, and, earlier still, by the startling, but perfectly harmless, name of the Lombard Austria. Our present district lies mainly within the Lombard Neustria, but we will venture to take in some more southern cities, lying all of them within the Lombardy of the Hohenstaufen, most of them within the dominion of the Visconti Dukes of Milan. We purpose, in short, to take a glance at the evidence on our subject supplied by the cities of Modena, Parma, Piacenza, and the once rival capitals of Pavia and Milan. The last-named city indeed might, from other points of view, claim as full a notice as Pisa and Ravenna. But as a contribution to the history of Romanesque architecture, the buildings of Milan, though of very high importance, are still of a kind which will be best treated in a group with several others.

The student who transports himself suddenly from the Arno and the Apennines to the river-basin of the Po will find himself spirited away into a new architectural world. Let him flit from Pisa to Modena. Pistoia, a city of high interest on other grounds, will not long detain him. A single noble campanile is attached to a basilican *Duomo* which would hold a third or fourth-rate place at Lucca, and which at Pisa no one would think of mentioning at all. The church of Pisa and the church of Modena are contemporary buildings, and the Great Countess is honoured as a benefactress to both; but they are as far removed from one another as any two buildings of the same date and general style well can be. At Modena we get our first glimpse of the genuine Lombard form of the Italian Romanesque, a form wholly unlike either the domical or the basilican type, and which makes a far nearer approach to the Romanesque of the lands beyond the Alps. The approach is indeed only an approach; the *Duomo* of Modena is Italian, and not English, French, or German; still it is a form of Italian far less widely removed from English, French, or German work than the style of Pisa or St. Vital. As at Pisa, the architect seems to have halted between two opinions. The church is cruciform, but the transepts have no projection on the ground-plan; there are real lantern-arches, not obscured as they are at Pisa, but they do not bear up any central dome or tower. The lantern-arches are pointed; but here, as at Pisa, the pointed form is more likely to be Saracenic than Gothic. Without, three eastern apses, rising from between pinnacles of quite Northern character, group boldly with one of the noblest campaniles in Italy, which is certainly not improved by the later addition of a spire. The great doorways rest on lions; the west front has a noble wheel window; the greater part of the outside is lavishly arcaded, but the arcading is of a different type from that of Lucca and Pisa, the long rows of single arcades; the favourite form of Modena is that of several small arches grouped under a containing arch. We are therefore not surprised to find, on entering the church, an elevation more nearly after the Northern type than anything which we have yet seen in Italy. At Pisa we saw an arcade, triforium, and clerestory; but the triforium was not so much the Northern type itself as the Northern type translated into Italian language. But at Modena we find as genuine a triforium as in any minster of England or Normandy. To be sure its form seems somewhat rude and awkward, as if the containing arch had been crushed by the lofty clerestory above, and eyes familiar with Norman detail may possibly be amazed at the sight of mid-wall shafts, and those of a somewhat rough type, showing themselves in such a position. But the mid-wall shaft is constructively as much in its place in a triforium as it is in a belfry window, and in the whole elevation there is nothing lacking;

there are pier-arch, triforium, and clerestory, and the deep splay of the highest range hinders the presence of any continuous blank spaces such as we have seen in the basilican churches. The capitals are a strange mixture of classical and barbaric forms, and in the alternate piers, supporting the arches which span the nave, we find huge half-columns, which form a marked contrast to the tall slender shafts commonly used in like positions in Northern churches. Altogether the Cathedral of Modena is strictly an Italian church, yet the approaches to Northern forms are very marked, and they are of a kind which suggests the direct imitation of Northern forms or the employment of Northern architects.

At our next stopping-place, if we venture to discern traces of the same influence, it is to a much smaller extent, and, such as it is, it has made its way into a church of far more distinctly Italian character than that of Modena. At Parma attention may easily be drawn away from the cathedral itself to the noble baptistery, one of the grandest in Italy, and in which most of the details show the widest departure from anything to which we are used north of the Alps. Here, in most of the stages within and without, we find the ornamental arcade cast aside for the ornamental colonnade. It is an entablature instead of a range of arches which rests on the small decorative shafts. Yet even here, in the strange capitals of some of the lower columns, and in the vast doorways with their many receding arches, we may see a certain approach to Northern forms which contrasts strangely with the ultra-classical survival in the other details. In the *Duomo* itself it is not always easy to say how much is genuine Romanesque work, and how much is that later reproduction or adaptation of Romanesque work of which we have seen so many examples in Italy. The west front is thoroughly Italian; and nothing can be less like a Norman church, though at the same time few architectural objects can be grander, than the present effect of the apsidal east-end and apsidal transepts joining to support the noble octagon cupola. But inside we have, as at Modena, the genuine pier-arch, triforium, and clerestory, just as we might see them in England or Normandy, except that the triforium consists of a range of four arches in each bay, not grouped together under a containing arch as at Modena. Yet this arrangement may possibly remind the spectator of Matilda's church at Caen, and the vaulting shafts at Parma approach far more nearly to Northern forms than those of Modena. Still at Parma the departures from the more purely Italian type are of a kind which do not force themselves upon the eye so strongly as those at Modena.

The *Duomo* of Piacenza, though much altered, contains some fine Romanesque portions, but there is nothing in them which especially connects itself with the Romanesque of the North. We pass on to two churches of the highest interest, both architectural and historical, an examination of which may perhaps throw some light on the questions which we have already started. These are the two great Romanesque churches which still survive in the once rival cities of Northern Italy, in Guelfic Milan, and in Imperial Pavia. We pass by the crowds of other objects presented by those two noble cities, and fix our attention on the two buildings which will teach us most for our immediate purpose—the churches of St. Ambrose at Milan, and St. Michael at Pavia. At Milan we will turn away from the dazzling exterior, the really solemn interior of the comparatively modern *Duomo*, and fix our thoughts on the venerable temple which covers the dust of the patron saint of Milan and the dust of the most truly Italian Emperor, and which boasts, truly or falsely, of containing the resting-place of the one worthy antagonist whom Rome sent forth to withstand the Gothic invader. A flash of the old magic of Ravenna passes over us as we look on the tomb of St. Ambrose, on the tomb of Lewis the Second, and on what at least professes to be the tomb of Stilicho. The mosaics of its spreading apse might hold their own in Pisa, in Ravenna, or in Venice, and one small portion of the pile lays claim to a date going back to the days of the saint whom it commemorates. But for our purpose we must pass on from the days of the saint to the days of the Cæsar, the Cæsar who was the champion of Italy against the Saracen, the truest Emperor that she had seen since the days of Majorian, the truest King that she has seen from Theodoric to our own day. It was under the worthiest of the Karlings, Lewis, King and Emperor, that the pile arose in which he lies buried. It seems impossible to withstand the direct evidence which assigns not only the glorious goldsmiths' work of the high altar and the soaring baldachino above it, but the main part of the building itself, to Archbishop Ansbert in 868. The building has received large changes and additions; the vault with the pointed arches across the nave, the octagonal dome, the advanced upper story of the west front, seem all to belong to a renovation which began in the twelfth century, most likely after the overthrow of the city by Frederick Barbarossa. But everything leads us to believe that, in the main arcades of the nave, and in the most distinctive feature of the whole building, the *cortile* or western cloister, the genuine work of the ninth century still survives. It is the genuine Lombard style, something utterly unlike the classical forms of Ravenna, Lucca, Pisa. It comes nearer to our Northern Romanesque in its Norman variety, but it has throughout an earlier and ruder air. The general look of the building is dark and cavernous; the proportions are low and broad; the arcades support a large open triforium, like Norwich or Waltham, but without a clerestory—in that resembling the great minster of St. Sernin at Toulouse. As at Pisa, the arcade is continued across the transept arches, and here also the triforium assumes the form of coupled arches under a containing arch. The compound pier is used throughout both in

the church and the cortile, to the exclusion alike of the classical column, of the square piers of the German Romanesque, and of the vast cylindrical piers of the English form of Norman. But there is a heavy squareness and flatness throughout surpassing anything in Norman work. The capitals are famous for the lavish use of animal forms; nowhere in Italy is there less imitation of classical forms. The Ionic volute alone seems here, as everywhere, to have lived on in the mind of the artist, and, both here and elsewhere, many strange forms occur which show that that favourite form of ornament was never forgotten. A bunch of leaves, a head, human or animal, may easily be so disposed as to keep the general effect of the volute; and when the beast represented happens to be a ram, one of those cycles which play their part in art as well as in everything else has brought back the architectural form to its first legendary origin. Some of the double-headed beasts at Milan can hardly fail to remind us of some of the double-headed beasts at Persepolis; but the likeness is doubtless as purely accidental as the likeness which has been often remarked between the columns in the Treasury at Mykené and those to be seen in many a Romanesque building among ourselves. The subjects of some of the capitals should be noticed, as well as those in other parts where animal forms are used. Some are mere plays of fancy, others seem to represent hunting scenes; but there is a more remarkable one in the west front, representing a human figure between two lions. The reference to the sports of the amphitheatre is obvious, but its special purport may be doubted. It may of course refer to some legend of martyrdom; but it should not be forgotten that the combats with wild beasts went on at least as late as the reign of Theodoric, though they were looked on with no favouring eye by the Gothic King and his great minister. Altogether, if we can really believe this church to be in its main features the genuine work of Ansbert, we have in it one of the most instructive buildings in all Christendom. And the evidence seems directly in favour of such a belief. From St. Ambrose we shall then naturally turn to St. Michael at Pavia, where we shall find, among many later changes, the main portions of a church of the same character, therefore most likely of the same date as St. Ambrose. The general effect of the interior is somewhat less dark and cavernous, but the arrangement of arcade and triforium without any clerestory is essentially the same, and the same flatness and squareness reigns in the compound piers and their capitals. But one feature is prominent at Pavia which is not to be seen at Milan. The mid-wall shaft has thrust itself into places where we should least have looked for it, into the transept front and into a range of coupled windows running across the whole western façade itself. In both these two remarkable churches it is far from easy to distinguish the earliest work from later changes which follow the same general forms. But we have little doubt that in the main arcades of both we have work of an age of which in Northern countries we have nothing but a few uncertain fragments.

It is indeed impossible to believe, even if we bear in mind the wide differences which probably existed between Lombardy and Tuscany, that these buildings can be of later date than the columnar churches of Pisa and Lucca, with their elaborate and highly classical detail. Tuscany may either have uninterruptedly retained classical forms, or it may have deliberately fallen back upon them; but it is hardly possible that Milan and Pavia should have so far lagged behind as to have produced such work as we see in St. Ambrose and St. Michael in the twelfth century, after such work as we have seen at both Lucca and Pisa in the eleventh. And if the ruder parts of St. Ambrose do not date from the reparation in the twelfth century, they can hardly fail to date from the rebuilding by Ansbert in the ninth. We have then in these examples a genuine Romanesque style, which had worked itself remarkably free from classical detail, while preserving the main constructive features of Roman architecture. It is probably the earliest form of pure Romanesque which was worked out, a form distinct alike from German and Norman, but from which both German and Norman architects doubtless borrowed ideas in after times. On this style came the great architectural movement of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, which, in different ways, so greatly modified the Romanesque of all Western Europe. In Italy it chiefly took the form of a *Renaissance*, a falling back on classical forms, as at Pisa and Lucca, at Murano and Torcello. In other cases, as at Parma and more strongly at Modena, the style took a direction which distinctly assimilated it to Northern forms, whichever side of the Alps we may hold to have borrowed from the other. In a third class, as at St. Zeno, we get a type intermediate between the classical forms of Tuscany and Venetia and an improved and refined variety of the Lombard style of Milan and Parma. The Italian Romanesque thus offers many types, varying considerably, partly according to date, partly according to district. But all are Italian; all agree in those points of difference from Northern buildings which are caused partly by difference of climate, partly by difference of national traditions. However nearly an Italian church may approach to a Northern one in its internal arcades, the external effect is always utterly different. No Italian church shows the varied outlines, the ever-shifting groupings, of the great churches of Germany. Even the less elaborate outline of a Norman or English church with its three towers finds only a feeble approach to it at St. Ambrose. The high roof is unknown, and the absence alike of the high roof and of any towers thoroughly worked into the building gives an utterly different form to the

main fronts. The style, in all its various forms, is thoroughly national. It is a style which has largely attracted the attention of architectural students, but it may still be studied with advantage by a more strictly historical and comparative method than has hitherto commonly been done. It should especially be compared with the contemporary forms of other Southern countries, of Provence and Aquitaine. For our own part we have done nothing more than throw out a few hints suggested by a few particular buildings. One subject more will bring our present survey of Italian cities and their buildings to an end. We cannot part from the Romanesque of Italy without a few words as to the change by which so noble and truly national a style was cast aside to make room for a feeble imitation of the Northern forms of a later age.

MR. HARCOURT ON OUR INSULAR POSITION.

WE all know that Great Britain is an island. It has pleased Mr. Vernon Harcourt to produce poetical authority for the fact, but perhaps the defensibility of our insular position may be most conveniently discussed in prose. We may remark, however, that the poem which Mr. Harcourt has translated exhorts Britain to rely rather on her navy than her army, and that is all. Without exactly apportioning the share which navy and army might be expected to take in repelling invasion, we should like to see the country able to rely on both. Mr. Harcourt has given us some rhymes against military preparation, but he has certainly given us no reason. Let him look at the martello towers and other defensive works which were erected on the Southern coast during the years of Britain's greatest naval power. They form a durable monument of the opinion of the statesmen of that time that the defence of the country could not be safely entrusted to her fleet alone. The history of the year 1805 has been referred to by Mr. Harcourt and his opponents with equal confidence; but it surely is tolerably plain that this country ran fearful risk during that year, to which no sane man would expose her if it could be avoided. Mr. Harcourt is desirous to show that Nelson and the fleet which he commanded were not "decoyed away" from home defence to the West Indies. It is doubtless true, as Mr. Harcourt says, that the French could only draw Nelson to the West Indies by going thither themselves, and thus the European fleets of the contending Powers were reduced by nearly an equal number of ships on either side. But evidently Napoleon proceeded on the supposition that his fleet might reach some point of effective action, were it the West Indies or Ireland or England, in advance of Nelson. This attempt so nearly succeeded as to show that it might quite succeed another time. That is all that the advocates of a second line of defence say, and it is enough. Mr. Harcourt has now got up the facts of our naval history tolerably well, but he does not reason upon them satisfactorily. "If," he says, "the French Admiral, instead of making Ferrol, had tried at Brest, he would have encountered a still more crushing defeat from the Channel Fleet under Admiral Cornwallis, with a force equal to his own." But at this time there lay in Brest, ready for sea, a fleet under Ganteaume at least equal to that of Cornwallis; and if Villeneuve, having got the start, as he did, of Nelson, had appeared off Brest, he would have had the opportunity of combining in an attack on the British with a superiority of two to one. We think that Cornwallis would have slipped through somehow, but there was the opportunity if Villeneuve had had the skill to take advantage of it. He steered for Ferrol instead of Brest, and before he reached Ferrol he was intercepted by Calder, who had raised the blockade of that port, and was cruising to the westward of it to intercept Villeneuve. But Calder left in Ferrol a Spanish squadron of more than half his own strength, and if that squadron had put to sea in time to assist Villeneuve, it might have gone hard with Calder. Besides, there was a French squadron at sea which had escaped from Rochefort, and this also might have fallen in with Villeneuve, or have appeared off Brest to co-operate with Ganteaume. It happened that this Rochefort squadron neither did nor suffered any great mischief, although it took more than forty prizes and caused intense alarm to British mercantile and colonial interests. The British navy of that time was not only numerically strong, but it possessed a familiarity with naval warfare as then conducted which its enemies could not approach. The bold measure of ordering Calder to raise the blockade of Ferrol was suggested to the Admiralty by the expectation that he might have time to defeat Villeneuve before the Spaniards in Ferrol could or would move to the assistance of their allies. In the same spirit the Admiralty ordered Cornwallis to cruise between Ushant and Finisterre, so as to give him the opportunity of defeating Villeneuve, if he came that way, before Ganteaume could make up his mind to sail from Brest. Yet the success of these tactics should not conceal the tremendous risk which they involved. Besides in those days it was known by experience what British ships and seamen could do, and the same cannot be said now. We do not doubt the skill or bravery of British seamen, but it is at least uncertain how some of the ships would behave at sea.

It may perhaps help to make the arguments of Mr. Harcourt and his opponents intelligible if we give a brief summary of the events of the naval war of 1805. We shall thus see clearly what were the risks to which this country was exposed, and how it was preserved from them. A treaty had been signed in December 1804 between France and Spain, by which the Spanish fleets and ports were placed at the disposal of the French Em-

peror. "If," says Mr. James in his *Naval History*, "Napoleon with his forty or forty-five sail of the line had calculated to create such a diversion of the British fleets as should give him a clear channel for his flotilla to cross, how must his expectations have been raised now that he possessed the disposal of upwards of seventy sail of the line!" Mr. Harcourt has quoted from this author, and will probably admit the accuracy of his History; and this is the conception which he had formed of Napoleon's plan. By alarming England for the safety of her colonies and commerce all over the world, the Emperor hoped to induce her to weaken her fleet at home, and thus to find an opportunity of invading England, or at least Ireland.

The commencement of the year 1805 found Admiral Cornwallis at his station off Ushant with a force not exceeding eleven sail of the line; while the French fleet under Ganteaume, which lay in the road of Brest ready for sea, numbered twenty-one sail. The British fleet, however, was speedily reinforced, and throughout the spring months it kept Ganteaume in harbour, although Napoleon contemplated that he should join Villeneuve in the West Indies, and "after ravaging the British possessions there," return to the Channel. "It was then that the great blow was to be struck," Napoleon wrote concerning Ganteaume on April 23:—"Dieu veuille que mon courrier ne le trouve point à Brest." But as this aspiration was not gratified, Napoleon directed Ganteaume to remain quiet, and sent orders to Villeneuve to return from the West Indies to Ferrol, pick up the Spanish squadron there, and sail thence either to join Ganteaume off Brest, or directly to Boulogne, where he might expect to arrive four or five days before the British Channel Fleet. "In these four or five days the flotilla was to cross, and the descent be effected." Whatever Napoleon may have thought or said at a later time, he did entertain this plan in May 1805. The dispositions of the British Admiralty were doubtless made in view of all the alternatives open to Napoleon's commanders. It was known that Nelson had gone to the West Indies in search of Villeneuve. On July 7, in the morning, the brig *Curieux* reached Plymouth with intelligence that Villeneuve's fleet had been seen off Martinique and was on its return to Europe. The Captain of the *Curieux* arrived at the Admiralty on the 8th, after the First Lord had gone to bed, and the despatches were not communicated to him until the morning of the 9th, when, without waiting to dress himself, he wrote orders which reached Admiral Cornwallis off Ushant on the 11th. This promptitude of decision could not be credited by Napoleon. The orders were that Rear-Admiral Sterling should raise the blockade of Rochefort, and join Vice-Admiral Calder off Ferrol, who should also raise the blockade of that port and take with his own and Admiral Sterling's ships a station westward of Cape Finisterre. At the same time Admiral Cornwallis, with the Channel Fleet, was to cruise between Ushant and Finisterre. This plan was probably the best that could be devised; but it must be remembered that there were in Rochefort and Ferrol French and Spanish squadrons at least equal in strength to the blockading forces, and when the blockade was raised these squadrons had nothing to do but put to sea, and appear wherever they could do most harm to England. In fact the Rochefort squadron did sail immediately, and made a six months' cruise, in which it did much harm to British trade, and got safely back with 1,200 prisoners. This squadron was composed of five powerful ships, commanded by an enterprising officer, and we are entitled to speculate on the consequences of its turning up off Brest or when Calder was engaged with Villeneuve. The Spaniards in Ferrol were brave men, and they also had fine ships, but they did not hate England as Napoleon did, and they doubtless required to be stirred up by their energetic ally. There were also French ships in Ferrol, but they waited for the Spaniards. At any rate the combined squadrons remained in Ferrol until Villeneuve entered that port, and invited them to join him. He had sailed from Toulon, passed the Straits of Gibraltar, picked up the Spanish squadron in Cadiz, and sailed thence to Martinique, which he reached on the 12th of May. He had instructions to wait a month or more in the West Indies for the expected arrival of Ganteaume with the Brest fleet, and during his stay to do as much harm as possible to British colonies and commerce. Hearing of the arrival of Nelson in these seas, and not hearing of Ganteaume, who, as we have seen, was still in Brest, Villeneuve, in further pursuance of instructions, quitted the West Indies and sailed for Europe. He arrived off Cape Finisterre on the 9th of July. Nelson had quitted Antigua on the 13th of June, hoping to reach Europe before Villeneuve, but he only came in sight of Cape St. Vincent on the 17th of July. He sailed thence to Gibraltar for provisions and water, and on the 25th he received intelligence that Villeneuve had been seen five weeks before by the *Curieux* on her way from the West Indies to England, as already mentioned. Nelson again cruised off Cape St. Vincent, until, having reason to believe that Villeneuve had gone northward, he took that direction himself, and joined Cornwallis off Ushant on the 15th of August, where he heard all that had occurred. The Admiralty, on hearing by the *Curieux* that Villeneuve was on his way to Europe, ordered Calder, as we have seen, to cruise off Cape Finisterre to intercept him. Accordingly, on the 22nd of July, Calder encountered the combined fleet about forty leagues west of Finisterre, and took two ships of it. Calder did not force a renewal of the battle on the 23rd, because, as he wrote to Cornwallis, it behoved him to be on his guard against the combined squadrons in Ferrol. He was tried by court-martial

and reprimanded for not having resumed the action. The best proof that Nelson was not near enough to assist Calder is furnished by the fact that he did not hear of this action until nearly a month after it was fought. Nelson, doubtless for good reasons, shaped his homeward course for Cape St. Vincent and Cadiz, whereas Villeneuve steered for Finisterre and Ferrol. Thus Villeneuve had ample opportunity of combining with the Ferrol squadrons against Calder, or with Ganteaume against Cornwallis. He missed the opportunity, and it did not again occur. Having united the Ferrol ships to his own, he was still expected by Napoleon to attempt one more combination with Ganteaume. But he merely sailed from Ferrol to Cadiz, and lay in that port until he quitted it to receive a decisive defeat from Nelson at Trafalgar. We leave this statement of facts to the consideration of students, civil or military, of the art of war.

THE EGYPTIAN SLAVE TRADE.

A LETTER has been received by the Prince of Wales from Sir Samuel Baker, in which an account is given of the progress of an expedition undertaken for the suppression of the African slave trade. The letter is dated from Gondokoro, on the 26th of August last, and the writer says that at that place he has once more attained solid ground, after twelve months passed in unhealthy morasses. From the beginning of the enterprise all that the leader could personally arrange had been rapidly carried out, and the various branches of the expedition were united with admirable precision. But the Egyptian authorities acted as might have been expected. Sir Samuel Baker arrived at Khartoum on the 7th of January, 1870, and found that nothing had been prepared at that place for the expedition. There was not a vessel ready, and all people, high and low, were averse to the suppression of the slave trade of the Nile. There had been premeditated delays in Egypt, and the fleet, instead of starting so as to pass the cataracts at high water, dallied at various stations on the river until the passage became impracticable. Thus, instead of finding at Khartoum six steamers and thirty vessels from Egypt, as well as twenty-five other vessels which were to be provided at Khartoum, there was absolutely nothing ready at Khartoum except a house, which had been purchased by the Governor for the residence of Sir Samuel Baker. The authorities appear to have determined to thwart the Viceroy's expedition by a passive resistance, for which plausible excuses would be forthcoming. And for one season they did succeed in delaying it. By driving, threatening, and sometimes persuading, Sir Samuel Baker obtained thirty-three vessels, after losing invaluable time at Khartoum. He attempted to proceed with this squadron up a branch of the White Nile, called the Bahr Giraffe. The entire country was marsh, through which the river flowed beneath tangled vegetation. For thirty-two days he cut canals through dense masses of obstructive growth, from four feet to five feet in thickness. The season was too late, the rains commenced, and great numbers of the men employed upon the work died. Nevertheless the fleet crept forward until it reached a portion of the river where the depth did not exceed one foot. He was forced to return; but not wishing the Khartoumese to triumph over a temporary failure, he formed a camp about 700 miles above Khartoum, and commenced operations against the slave trade. He caught the Governor of Fashoda in the act of kidnapping women and children, and released the slaves and reported the Governor to the Viceroy. During his stay of seven months at this place he stopped all vessels, liberated the slaves, and put the principal traders in irons. Thus, says he, not a slave passed down the river in 1870. He made every preparation for surmounting the difficulties of the Bahr Giraffe in the ensuing season. He went down to Khartoum to superintend these preparations, and after much hard work got together 59 vessels, including a steamer of 100 feet length of deck, and 32 horse-power. The vessels averaged about thirty tons burden, and drew four feet of water when deeply laden.

The events of the second season began on December 1, 1870. A serious disaster occurred in the sinking in deep water of a vessel laden with sections of lake steamers. By great exertion the vessel was raised, dragged ashore, and repaired. The point was reached where the shallowness of the water stopped the expedition the year before. It was now the month of Ramadan, and the soldiers and sailors were fasting during the day and eating all night. Of course no work was done. The impatience of an energetic English employer of labour during Ramadan may be conceived. At length operations commenced, and many weary months were passed in working through vegetation and shallow channels. The country is a vast marsh, without a single dry spot to the horizon. "Fortunately," says Sir Samuel Baker, "I had English spades and broad hoes in hundreds, and slowly we dug canals, and dragged the heavy vessels forward." He had dismounted the paddles of the steamer, but she gave great trouble, owing to her length, in the sharp turns of the river, where sometimes 1,000 men dragged her bodily through the mud. Months passed in this severe labour, until Sir Samuel Baker, who was reconnoitring ahead, reached a fine lake, which in five miles took him to the White Nile junction. The news gave some courage to the men, and after a few days of hard toil the fleet of 59 vessels assembled in a portion of the river resembling a long pond. While engaged in cutting a channel in advance to reach the lake, the river,

accelerated by the cuttings newly made in the rear, ran from under the fleet, and left it aground in two feet of water. The only escape lay in a strong dam, which was forthwith constructed of piles, fascines, and sandbags. "The success was perfect. The fleet, lately helpless, floated. The wind was strong from the north, and, two vessels taking the steamer in tow, we passed through the new channel to the lake, and shortly reached the Great White Nile. We all felt thankful for deep and clear water." The bulk of the fleet arrived at Gondokoro on the 22nd of May, having occupied five months and twenty-two days in accomplishing a distance of 700 miles from the Sobah junction, just above Khartoum. Formerly when the White Nile was open this voyage would have occupied twenty or twenty-five days. This is a remarkable example of English perseverance in repairing the consequences of native neglect. The White Nile having become blocked up by unchecked vegetation, the fleet had to make a channel for itself up a branch of the main river. "Thank God," writes Sir Samuel Baker, "we are here, with all the material of the expedition." He writes thus from Gondokoro within five degrees latitude of the equator, and more than twenty-five degrees from Cairo. He has 1,000 troops in good condition, and ten mountain guns. The Baris, who dwell around Gondokoro, declared against annexation to Egypt, and refused to acknowledge the Viceroy's authority. Hereupon Sir Samuel Baker declared war, and gave them "several lessons." His black troops are excellent. He wishes he could say as much for the Egyptians, many of whom are convicts transported to the Soudan for felonies, but he has them all tight in hand. He is building a new fort and town, after which he will go through the Bari country, with 600 men, and thoroughly subdue them. Until that is completed it will be impossible to travel south with so large a transport of material. He has written for reinforcements, which he hopes no intrigues in Egypt or the Soudan will delay.

It is evident from the tone of Sir Samuel Baker's letter that he is entirely satisfied with his work, but we cannot help thinking that the impression made by him on the Baris will be obliterated as soon as he leaves the country. We indeed hardly understand why the expedition was sent out unless it was to prove that an English vessel could float wherever the ground was slightly damp. No doubt every step in the enterprise, and particularly the giving of "lessons" to Baris, or, in other words, the killing of them, has proceeded upon the highest principles. As a place of residence for Englishmen we cannot think that Gondokoro has any attractions, except perhaps in the fact that "the post is merely annual." It happens that Sir Samuel and Lady Baker like that kind of life, at any rate until they are tired of it; but when they are, then we should say will come the deluge. Poseidon and Apollo did not sweep away the Greek entrenchments before Troy more speedily and completely than the Baris will abolish all traces of interference with their trade in slaves. Sir Samuel Baker says that he has succeeded in his main object. "The slave trade of the White Nile has ceased." And he believes that it cannot reappear except with the connivance of the authorities after his return to England. We also believe this; but we expect that the authorities will connive just as we expect that weeds will grow in the channel which Sir Samuel Baker cut for his vessels. The traders will offer to the authorities a handsome bribe, which the authorities will accept, and the old order of things will be restored and the "lessons" of Sir Samuel Baker will be forgotten. It might, indeed, be possible to find an Englishman to take his place, and even an Englishwoman to take the place of Lady Baker. It might be represented that Gondokoro was a distant and nearly inaccessible shooting-box with a "merely annual" post, and that the Baris were a peculiarly fierce and active kind of game which might be slaughtered on purely philanthropic principles. Sir Samuel Baker states in a second letter, dated the 19th October, that he has been obliged to make a month's campaign against the Baris, in which he has completely subdued them. But a spirit of disaffection has appeared among the officers, and is shared in by the men, because Sir Samuel Baker insists upon the suppression of the slave trade, which, as he admits, is contrary to public opinion in Egypt. We suppose that there is public opinion as well as steam-engines in the country of the pyramids; and probably it favours a convenient trade. The Viceroy has indulged his good friends the English in this little whim of suppressing the slave trade of the White Nile, and he does not object to their opening a water route to Gondokoro, nor even to their slaughtering Baris who may resist them. Sir Samuel Baker trusts that in a few months the country will be in peace, which is quite likely if the Baris feel that they have been soundly thrashed. Peace, when it begins, may possibly continue as long as Sir Samuel Baker has a force at Gondokoro which will obey his orders. We are happy to learn that the soldiers of his army who were killed in battle died "quite unnecessarily," and perhaps the sport of shooting Baris will not be less attractive when it is found to be moderately dangerous. There are probably many worthy persons in England who regard this expedition as a great triumph of civilization and Christianity, which is exactly what was thought of the enterprises of Cortez and Hernando de Soto by their contemporaries. A hundred years ago public opinion in England did not demand the suppression of the slave trade; and it is not surprising, although perhaps disappointing, to find that public opinion in Egypt favours what we have learned to think a wicked practice.

LOCALIZATION OF THE ARMY.

IN the speech with which Mr. Cardwell introduced the statement of his contemplated measures of military reform, he claimed for his plan that it would render future panics impossible. Nearly a year has elapsed since that confident assurance was uttered, but as yet he has done but little towards the attainment of his object. He has abolished purchase, he has changed the system of regimental promotion, and he has introduced autumn manoeuvres—for which last innovation at any rate he deserves all praise; but he has not organized our military forces, or placed us in any degree in a better position than that in which we were a year ago, either for resisting an invasion or despatching a foreign expedition. There is as much cause for uneasiness now as ever, and the worst of it is that we do not see any prospect of improvement. In order to render panics impossible, or rather to remove all reasonable grounds for apprehension, it is necessary that we should possess a sufficient number of well drilled, efficiently commanded men, fully supplied and equipped, and be able promptly to concentrate them on any given spot in a fit state to take the field. We do possess a sufficient number of men, and of these the regular troops are well commanded, and regimentally well supplied, clothed, and equipped. The Militia are but indifferently officered, and are by no means well treated in the matter of clothing and equipment. The Volunteers we need hardly on this occasion take into consideration, for in case of an invasion there would be ample employment for them in garrisoning our forts, guarding communications, and performing other important subsidiary duties. Even assuming the efficiency of the Militia to be within the next few months largely increased, we shall after all possess only the elements of a field army, not a field army itself. We have both the tactical units and the material of war, but we have not the organization which is required to connect these two into an army able to take the field within the short period which would probably elapse between the warning and the blow. Our military forces are not homogeneous; they are even in some respects antagonistic. The Militia is unconnected with the line, is administered, and even disciplined, differently from the line, with which moreover it enters into rivalry in the matter of recruiting; and of that welding into one harmonious whole of which Mr. Cardwell spoke last year so confidently, there are as yet no visible symptoms. As to the regular army, we even now find it difficult, if not impossible, to keep it up to its full strength, and we have no system analogous to the Reserve of Prussia for supplying the large gaps which soon occur during even the least bloody campaign.

In our opinion, the most effectual remedy for most of the evils we have enumerated is to be found in localization, which, while increasing the comfort of officers and men and the military strength of the country, would involve no additional expense. Under such a system, moreover, Mr. Cardwell's much talked of welding process would have a fair chance of success. By localization we mean the division of Great Britain and Ireland into large districts, each permanently occupied by a complete corps d'armée, with staff, military train, and subsidiary establishments complete. As regards details, as well as in general principles, we might with advantage follow the example of Prussia—divisions, brigades, and battalions being each permanently assigned to particular circles. So likewise it would be desirable to establish in each district magazines, arsenals, and storehouses, capable of satisfying the first requirements of the corps d'armée on being mobilized. Let us see how far such a system could be carried out as regards individual regiments. It will be sufficient for our present purpose if we confine ourselves to the case of the infantry. It must be borne in mind that we are in a different position from Prussia, inasmuch as out of our hundred and forty-one battalions of infantry (not reckoning the Guards), sixty-nine, or nearly one-half, are employed on foreign service. We have also two battalions in the Channel Islands, where no recruits are to be obtained, and twenty-one in Ireland—not counting a battalion of the Guards—where it might be imprudent to localize a large number of regiments. An exact copy of the Prussian system is therefore clearly impossible. A very substantial approximation to it is, however, feasible. There are only eight battalions which bear Irish titles, and of these on an average half would be always abroad or in the Channel Islands. Only four at a time could therefore be quartered in Ireland, even if the principle of local connexion were uniformly followed, and no soldier could pass more than half his term of service in his own neighbourhood. Any danger of disaffection might further be greatly diminished by quartering Irish regiments only in loyal districts, and by furnishing them with a proportion of recruits from an English general depot. The remaining thirteen line battalions of the garrison of Ireland would necessarily be furnished by English regiments in turn. Of the sixty-four non-Irish line battalions on home service, two would be required to garrison the Channel Islands when no Irish battalion took the duty, fourteen would be stationed in Ireland, and only forty-eight would be in Great Britain. And not even all the latter would in any case be quartered in their own districts, for Aldershot would certainly have to be kept up for training purposes, though it might be desirable that the original idea of a camp should be reverted to. At present Aldershot is nothing more than a gigantic barracks. From these considerations it will be evident that a non-Irish battalion would out of every twelve years spend, say, six years abroad or in the Channel Islands, a year and nine months in Ireland, fifteen months

in a training camp, and only four years in its own district. Four years of uninterrupted residence in their own neighbourhood would, however, be a great boon to the men, who would cease to feel that enlistment entailed the utter severance of all their former ties and associations. Besides, it is an essential part of the system of localization that, be the head-quarters of the regiment where they may, the dépôt should for recruiting purposes be stationary. By this means a constant connexion with the district would be kept up, and every man would have a chance of adding a year or two to his regular four years' residence at home. As a rule, it would be well that every regiment should conduct its own recruiting; and under a system of localization this could be easily managed, and with great advantage and economy. The commanding officer would scarcely require to send out recruiting parties, for men on leave to their homes would practically act as such. If recruiting parties were required occasionally, the commanding officer would from his local knowledge be able at once to fix on the most suitable fields of action; and, moreover, he could ensure that none but efficient and thoroughly respectable men were enlisted. It would also be practicable to secure a plentiful supply of good recruits by establishing friendly relations with the surrounding civil authorities, clergymen, and landowners. But, indeed, solicitation would in all probability be quite unnecessary, and men, instead of needing to be persuaded to enlist, would come forward of their own accord to request admission into the regiment. The impulse given to recruiting through localization would, we believe, be greater than the general public can well imagine. All experienced officers know well that local connexion is of the utmost value in this matter. Recruiting operates at present by fits and starts. Sometimes it does not rain at all for months together, but when it does rain it pours. Recruits, especially in country places, are like sheep; where one leads the others follow blindly. When you get one popular man from a neighbourhood, his example is generally imitated by a dozen of his acquaintances; and if, as a rule, in granting commissions, gentlemen were as far as possible appointed to their local, or at least county, regiments, their influence would secure a constant supply of the best recruits. It would, no doubt, be impossible to obtain in all cases and at all times a sufficient number of recruits by regimental arrangements; but this difficulty might be met by establishing general recruiting centres at some of the principal towns in the kingdom—say, two in Ireland, and one each in London, Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, Liverpool, and Glasgow. Only a small staff would need to be employed on this duty, and the recruits should be as far as possible sent off at once to the regiments which required them.

It is obvious that discipline would gain largely by a system of localization; for officers and men would be known to each other, and the influence of the former would consequently be much greater than at present. The connexion of officers and men would begin before enlistment, and would not terminate on discharge. The influence of friends and relations also could not fail to exercise a beneficial effect. The soldier would not, as at present, be lost in the ranks of the army, but would retain his individuality, would have a reputation to keep up, and would feel that others besides his military superiors took an interest in his good conduct. Every crime, even every petty offence of which he might be guilty, would come to the ears of those whose good opinion would affect his reputation as long as he lived. Home influence would no longer lose its hold over him, while, if he wished to desert, he would be restrained by the thought that quitting his colours meant banishment from all he held dear. Moreover, as a large portion of his military career would be passed among or near his friends and family, the inducements to desert would be much diminished. *Espirit de corps* also would be largely increased by localization, for the soldier would feel that he had not only the credit of his regiment, but also that of his parish and county, to keep up.

What the intention of the authorities may be with regard to the marriage of soldiers we know not. With the present short service and the constant change of quarters it would obviously be difficult to encourage it. If, however, a regiment were, during the greater part of its home service, kept in one station, and that station the centre of the district which supplied it with recruits, marriage, instead of being detrimental, might be rendered conducive to the interests of the service. A commanding officer could, under such circumstances, take care that none but respectable women able to contribute towards the family purse were placed on the list of recognized soldiers' wives. Women of this description would be desirable acquisitions to the military community, and, permission to marry being only given to the soldier as the reward of good conduct, the means of moral control at the disposal of the commanding officer would be increased. Further, no longer haunted by the dread of constant and expensive changes of quarters, soldiers' wives would be drawn from a better class of women than is the case at present, and they would be able to support themselves without that aid from the State in the shape of lodging-money which they now receive. Instead of lodging-money, employment might be found for them in the district or regimental workshops. The result of such measures would be increased comfort, sobriety, and discipline, and consequently greater efficiency and attachment to the service. Much has been said and written about employing soldiers in workshops, and enabling them to fill up their leisure by civil occupations. Under present circumstances the frequent and uncertain changes of quarters interpose great obstacles to the carrying out of any such

plan; but if a regiment were kept for three or four years in its own district these obstacles would vanish.

We have said that localization would involve no addition to the estimates; we believe, indeed, that, even after allowing for the cost of a few general recruiting dépôts, there would be an absolute saving. The estimates appear to be purposely drawn up so as to baffle the inquiring zeal of economists; and we cannot, therefore, venture to give more than an approximate estimate of the saving which might thus accrue. In the last estimates the cost of recruiting parties is given as 13,000*l.*, besides 20,000*l.* for local dépôts for raising and training recruits for the regular and reserve forces, and for officers and men employed at schools of instruction for officers. In the preceding year, when no schools of instruction existed, 10,964*l.* was the amount estimated. Roughly disentangling the cost of the dépôts as regards the regular forces, we may fix the sum chargeable to recruiting and training recruits for the regular army at 22,500*l.* Consequently, as no training dépôts at all, and only a few general recruiting dépôts, would be required under a system of localization, we may assume that the saving would be hardly less than 20,000*l.* Again, were localization adopted, the aimless movements of troops in Great Britain and Ireland would be diminished by at least two-thirds. In the last estimates the cost of these movements, including the hire of horses, was 152,600*l.* It will not, therefore, be unreasonable to calculate the saving under this head at 100,000*l.* The cost of transport of stores is set down as 27,645*l.*, and that of regimental travelling expenses at 11,000*l.* Much of this expense, say 10,000*l.*, would be unnecessary in the event of localization. We arrive therefore at a rough estimate of saving of about 130,000*l.* per annum. Against it, however, must be set the cost of a few—a very few—new barracks, stores, arsenals, &c., and of keeping the troops in constant readiness to take the field. Still, even with this set-off, it is probable that in the course of a few years a considerable permanent saving might be realized.

We have hitherto dealt chiefly with the matter as affecting regiments individually, but the general advantages to the army are not less worthy of attention. By localization and the establishment of corps d'armée, we should be able to place the whole of our troops in the field in a state of readiness to commence a campaign at the very shortest notice. Every corps d'armée would be complete in itself, and would require for mobilization nothing beyond the mere order to effect it; and generals, staff, and regiments, being all intimately acquainted with each other, the army would be like a man-of-war which has been a long time in commission. Whether it were required to repel a hostile landing, or to despatch an expedition to the Continent, the system would be equally effectual for the purpose. Under such a system, and only under such a system, could efficient arrangements be made, by registering carts and horses, for supplying the transport required. The military topography and resources of each district would be thoroughly familiar to all, and the arrangements for every possible variety of operations would be prepared and recorded in the offices of the Staff. Finally, the military and the civil population would be drawn closely together, and the aid of the latter could be readily rendered and fully and systematically utilized. As the merits of such a scheme have long since been pointed out by able writers and practical soldiers, and as the experience of Prussia has proved its utility, it is difficult to conceive why Mr. Cardwell should not introduce it. At the worst harmless and inexpensive, the experiment is at least worth trying.

REVIEWS.

HELPS'S THOUGHTS UPON GOVERNMENT.*

THOSE who have read Mr. Helps's numerous writings on cognate subjects will anticipate the general tendency of his opinions on government. In his characteristically perspicuous style he points out the increasing complexity of human affairs, and the consequent inefficiency of private and personal action. A man may look at the moon without consulting his neighbours, but he will scarcely be able to buy a candle unless there is a shop in the neighbourhood; and when he requires gas he becomes dependent for light on those by whom it is manufactured and distributed. From similar results of civilization Mr. Helps infers that the province of government naturally becomes larger and larger; and with mild audacity he avows himself an advocate of paternal government, the alternative being in his opinion the fraternal government which derives its first precedent and its frequent practice from Cain and Abel. Historically the antithesis scarcely coincides with experience, for democratic socialists or professors of fraternity are also the most fanatical believers in the wisdom and power of their ideal State. Modern French theorists are almost without exception utterly regardless of individual liberty; and their disciples in Europe, and even in America, openly denounce the national prejudice against official interference. To a certain extent it is undoubtedly true that communities, as they become more artificially civilized, require additional machinery for regulating their common affairs. The settler in a forest or a prairie manages, and often mismanges, his own sanitary regulations, while the inhabitants of towns must necessarily combine, either of

* *Thoughts upon Government.* By Arthur Helps. London: Bell & Daldy.

their own accord or by compulsion of law, if they require effective drainage. The supply on a large scale of necessities of life, such as gas and water, also becomes legitimately subject to legislative direction and to administrative control; and it is infinitely more convenient to be protected by a municipal police than by a casual aggregation of militant householders or private watchmen. Popular education, which had in Scotland and in several foreign countries long since been secured by legal provision, is now by general consent regarded in England as a matter which concerns the State. Unluckily the system of paternal government is liable to derangement when the heads of the household find in the management of the family the most appropriate field for fighting out their own domestic quarrels. In most departments of economic affairs the participation of the local or general government in administration is by general consent acknowledged to be useful; but the point at which official intervention becomes officious is a legitimate subject of controversy. The supply of gas and water has in many places been already entrusted to municipal authorities; and within a few years the remaining undertakings of the kind will probably be transferred to similar bodies; yet the change from Companies to Corporations will have been almost exclusively due to fiscal causes, which themselves depend on modern legislation. A quarter of a century ago a limit was imposed by Parliament on the dividends of gas and water Companies; and consequently the surplus profit belongs to the consumers, who are practically identical with the local community. To the shareholders, as soon as they become annuitants, it is indifferent whether they retain their property in its original form, or receive an equivalent payment; and in the majority of instances it is thought better that the beneficial owners of the estate should develop its resources. For the most part, the transfer is unattended by improvement or practical change in the administration. The details are necessarily confided to professional agents, who serve joint-stock proprietors or elected Town Councillors with impartial fidelity and zeal. If the Government, or rather the Legislature, had interfered a little earlier, it might perhaps have made slightly better terms for the consumer; but if it had meddled with the matter too early, it would have inflicted a heavy blow on enterprise and improvement.

Mr. Helps proposes only to correct in favour of paternal government the balance which, as he thinks, inclines too far in the opposite direction; but it may be doubted whether the ancient jealousy of supervision has not already been sufficiently impaired. Among all nations, the English and Americans, while they have depended least upon the State, have displayed the greatest faculty of organized co-operation. Little perversities, such as the unexpected shunting of trains in the awkward station at York, may possibly deserve Mr. Helps's censure; but perhaps he would have abstained from gibbeting the North-Eastern Company if he had known that they are at this moment providing for the removal of similar inconveniences by constructing at a great expense a new station open at both ends, where passengers will be able to resume their seats without a moment's perplexity. There is not much paternal government at York, but there is a great deal of it at Antibes. The reverence for the *consigne*, which, as all travellers know, forms a national religion in France, lately caused a score or two of dead bodies to be left for days without examination or recognition; nor are the friends of missing passengers at this day able to ascertain whether they perished in the frightful catastrophe. It is a smaller evil to run once or twice up and down the York platform than to be locked up in a den after the Continental fashion until the moment comes for a scramble into the carriages under the orders of imperious station-masters and guards. It is difficult to determine whether the abject submission of Frenchmen to administrative abuses, and the indignant resistance of Englishmen, is a cause or an effect of opposite systems. The wildest Jacobin at Paris or Antibes would never think of remonstrating against the heartless stupidity of the police. A traveller slightly hurried over his midnight coffee at York either writes to the *Times* or consigns his grievance to immortality in his published "Thoughts upon Government." The second series which Mr. Helps conditionally announces will illustrate by special instances the extent of the functions which he proposes to vest in the Government. It might at the same time be convenient to inquire into the nature of the Government itself. Sanitary regulations, for instance, must necessarily be entrusted to local authorities, who in modern times are elected by household suffrage. The Corporations of large towns have on the whole displayed an amount of public spirit and good sense which could scarcely have been expected from their origin. In default of the marked ability which is occasionally found among the members of the local parliament, Corporations are fortunately, like that of Ephesus, largely under the influence of their town clerks, who are with few exceptions eminent solicitors. With the aid of the borough engineer, the borough surveyor, and perhaps of the accountant, the Town Clerk induces the Mayor and Corporation to administer an approximately paternal government. The professional advisers consult the interests rather than the prejudices of the constituency with which they have only an indirect contract; but there are whole classes of abuses with which it would be dangerous to deal. The engine smoke which Lord Palmerston endeavoured to suppress in London is still emitted from the chimneys of every manufacturing town in England; and the discharge of mill refuse into the rivers is still perpetrated by the conscript fathers of the municipal community. In this case a central control is evidently required; and perhaps Mr. Stansfeld or his successors may contrive an adequate remedy.

The greater part of Mr. Helps's treatise is devoted to an examination of some of the methods by which administrative efficiency may be promoted. His long experience and his practised accuracy of observation give value to the expression of his judgment. On some points in which familiarity might have been expected to correct enthusiasm Mr. Helps seems to have indulged in imaginative dreams. During his whole official career he never knew of a job; and he believes in the Privy Council as heartily as if he had never entered its doors:—

The peculiar felicity of the constitution of the Privy Council consists in its including almost all those persons who have borne high office in the country. . . . It is most useful that there should be a body formed of the best men of business of all parties, from among whom Committees may be chosen to hear and decide upon many of the vexed questions of the day.

Mr. Helps must know best; but many persons not wholly ignorant of public affairs will be almost as much surprised to learn that "the power of calling such Committees into being has by no means fallen into desuetude" as when they are informed that for thirty years past patronage has been exclusively determined by merit. It is true that one of the two Supreme Courts of Appeal is technically described as a Committee of the Privy Council, and that its members are chosen without regard to political opinion; but it is a mere accident that actual or retired Judges are decorated with the rank of Privy Councillor; and Mr. Helps treats not of judicial, but of administrative, functions. It had been generally supposed that a lay Privy Councillor enjoys a titular sinecure as fully as if he had been created a baronet or appointed a Knight of the Bath. It is true that non-official persons, and sometimes political opponents of the actual Government, are commissioned to inquire into questions of importance; but it is not as Privy Councillors, but in virtue of their special commission, that they exercise their functions. Mr. Helps describes the Privy Council as "a consultative body, not of large numbers, not of one form of politics, not inexperienced in business, but which has the power to direct the immediate execution of the measures it may resolve to take." The official reports of the proceedings of the Privy Council always record the exclusive attendance of members holding executive office in the Government of the day; and the powers which are exercised beyond mere matters of routine really proceed from the President or Vice-President of the Council, both of whom are now members of the Cabinet. It may or may not be expedient that there should be a non-political Council entrusted with certain branches of administration, but, unless Mr. Helps has betrayed an official secret which had hitherto been rigidly kept, the Privy Council is either a name, or a department of the political and executive Government.

It is satisfactory to be assured by Mr. Helps that the permanent members of the Civil Service habitually co-operate in perfect harmony with their political chiefs. There is, indeed, no reason why any jealousy should exist between the motive power and the machinery to which it is applied. Every nation, directly or indirectly, chooses the depositaries of power, who in their turn depend on the possessors of administrative skill. In former times a King bore nearly the same relation to his Ministers which now exists between a Secretary of State and the permanent heads of his department. The higher authority can alone carry into effect what the official person may suggest or arrange in detail. In England the loyalty of subordinates has hitherto been secured by the happy circumstance that both classes of functionaries have consisted of gentlemen. It is possible that the same cheap defence of the internal security of nations may survive the vulgar device of universal competitive examination. Mr. Helps, in common with the great majority of experienced public officers, distrusts and disapproves the Chinese system of selection. It would perhaps not have been consistent with his plan to dwell on the importance of requiring in the civil servants of the State a certain social position. The training for examinations, though it may be intellectually mischievous, has the great and unforeseen advantage of being so expensive that it seems likely to be only adopted by the upper middle classes which under a more rational practice supplied recruits to the public offices. By preference Mr. Helps discusses less hackneyed questions, such as the advantages of statesmanlike foresight, and the inconvenience which arises from the want of time for statesmanship. The appropriateness of his citation of the Girondins as examples of want of foresight might be questioned on the ground that, if they were wholly wanting in providence, the defect was not redeemed by the possession of any moral or political quality which belongs to the character of a statesman. "There never, perhaps, was an instance in the world in which so many good men, having really great designs for the welfare of mankind, were so utterly deluded and deceived." If the Girondins had been good men, instead of being unprincipled fanatics, they would perhaps not have been so absolutely devoid of wisdom. The one consolatory event in the Reign of Terror, with the exception of the execution of the leaders of the Commune, is the destruction by more unscrupulous ruffians of the canting men of blood who had not even the miserable excuse of being deliberately bloodthirsty. Pétion and Barbaroux, Brissot and Vergniaud, were as cruel as Robespierre as long as they had enemies or rivals to supplant, and they were almost exclusively responsible for the war which Robespierre desired to avert. They were parties to the massacre of the 10th of August, and to the judicial murder of the King; and they only ceased to promote the activity of the guillotine when their own necks were in danger. The great designs for the welfare of mankind, which consisted in a thoughtless

and ignorant devotion to a republican form of government, deserved neither sympathy nor approval.

Criticism of such a work as Mr. Helps's *Thoughts on Government* is necessarily desultory. A thoughtful man who has passed a busy life notes reflections, not as they might be arranged in a systematic theory, but in the casual order which depends on events and opportunities. The work is the result of thought and experience, and in every part it is suggestive of thought. The prophet of organization, who has often commented on the importance of details, unconsciously perhaps exemplifies his own doctrines in the transparent lucidity of his style, in the clearness of the print, and in the fulness of the index. There are no wanton obstacles to the convenient study of an instructive disquisition.

SOUTH SEA BUBBLES.*

THIS is one of the liveliest books of travels that we have met with for some time. It records the experiences of two gentlemen during a yachting cruise in the South Seas. They describe themselves on the title-page as the Earl and the Doctor; and to the information so conveyed we can only add that the Earl, who is apparently the chief author, calls himself P., whilst the Doctor is described as K. As the number of earls' titles beginning with P. is decidedly limited, and as there are few amongst that limited number who are likely to have been yachting in the Pacific during the autumn of 1870, many of our readers will probably have little trouble in raising the thin veil of anonymity. We, of course, shall not attempt to do it for them; but we fancy that, from the internal evidence of the book itself, we can form a pretty fair guess at the author's character. He is obviously a young man, running over with a superabundance of animal spirits; he is a little inclined to indulge in downright slang—as, for example, when he calls one of the native rulers an "awful sweep"—and, in fact, to write with a free and easy disregard of the stricter proprieties of style. He has no scruple at occasionally firing off an outrageous pun; and he has no objection to something between a jest and a sneer at the most critical moments, and on the most serious subjects. Leaving a desert island in a small boat after a shipwreck, he remarks that the "proper platitude" on such occasions is "trust in Providence"; but he proceeds to explain, though meaning "no irreverence," that his view of his duty does not imply a belief in what is called a particular Providence; "two sparrows," he remarks, "do not fall to the ground without God knowing it, but the sparrows fall all the same." The Earl so far resembles a good many young English gentlemen of a lively, or, we might almost call it rollicking disposition, enjoying any pleasure that comes in their way without excessive scrupulosity, and inclined to make fun of everything, from lovely scenery up to theology. If he had been nothing more his book might have been one of those which, by revealing to us the character of the inferior variety of British traveller, unintentionally explain why he can be one of the most offensive of mankind. The Earl, however, is a good deal more. He has a very lively sense of beauty of all kinds, including that of the male and female islanders of the Pacific; he has plenty of humour; he shows a very kindly feeling towards his hospitable entertainers, and he writes with much apparent shrewdness as to the character of the missionaries and the queer white population of the Pacific. In short, he gives us the impression that there is genuine sense and feeling as well as humour under the superficial exuberance of slang and nonsense. If at times the latter qualities are a little too exuberant, we can forgive him in consideration of his merits, and we may hope that in the atmosphere of the House of Lords he will, as it were, become sufficiently oxidized with respectability. Yet even when that consummation is attained, we have no doubt that he will occasionally look back with a sigh to his picturesque Bohemia in the Pacific.

We have lately been inclined to fancy that the hero of *Locksley Hall* would find himself rather mistaken in seeking refuge from civilization in "the gateways of the day." Missionary reports will give you the impression that the valleys are filled with the sound of the churchgoing bells, that the inhabitants have ceased to be cannibals, have given up tattooing themselves, and have adopted white ties and black coats. The Parliamentary blue-books, on the other hand, make one fancy that a new slave trade is springing up which will speedily sweep the harmless islanders from the face of the earth. In each of these views there is some truth; but it is also true that many happy regions yet remain where the natives, still unspoiled by the white man's intrusion, remain what they were in the days of Captain Cook. The Earl is never tired of commending the graceful forms and the exquisite natural taste of the fair inhabitants. The glorious scenery and climate are propitious to happy indolent loafing. We have endless pictures of deep still lagoons, guarded by coral reefs from the ocean swell, the shores covered to the water's edge with rich vegetation, and a background of precipitous peaks rising in the distance. The natives are in harmony with the country. In an incredibly short time, says the Earl, "You feel a kind of really Christian brotherly love coming over you, a delicious indolence, a refined gentleness of manner, and a blunting of the edge of your moral ideas." We know not how far it was owing to the personal qualities of their visitor, or how far it was in accordance with their ordinary

custom, that the inhabitants of all the islands visited appear to have given him an equally warm welcome. Wherever he lands the nearest native receives him like a brother, presents him with coconuts, bananas, pigs, and fowls, and is absolutely hurt if any hints are made at payment. The young ladies think nothing of proposing to accompany him back to his native land or elsewhere ten minutes after the first introduction. He goes with uncomfortable forebodings to a school inspection, remembering the nature of such performances at home. There girls, boys, and women are one and all crowned with wreaths of the loveliest flowers; the whole instruction appears to be carried on by singing and dancing, even the alphabet being converted into a "really pretty song"; and the girls manage to combine flirtation with arithmetic. At Raiatea we come upon the one disagreeable native encountered—namely, the "awful sweep" before mentioned; but even of him it is written that he has his good points, "the chief one being that when he is drunk he goes away on the loose, and when he is sober shuts himself up altogether." Moreover, his Queen, a "wonderfully pretty girl," called Moe, and described with infinite enthusiasm, made herself in every way so charming that the Earl was strongly inclined, on hearing of the "sweep's" death, to go back and make her an offer. At Raritonga, whilst attending church service, he remarks a native elder in proper clerical costume, with a mighty pair of spectacles, joining vigorously in the hymn, and precisely resembling a "very bilious Scotch precentor." Next day he is treated to a state reception by the King of the country. Sitting at the doorway of the palace, he remarks a crowd advancing, in front of whom, frisking, bounding, and gambolling with the wildest antics, comes a native in a coat of many colours, flourishing a strange weapon, half spear, half paddle, and delivering an address interrupted at every three words by a series of frantic howls. The orator, as it gradually becomes evident, is no other than the precentor aforesaid. Following his lead, deputation after deputation advances, with strange drummings, with inconceivable bellowings, with wild Pagan dances, in which the surrounding crowd joins with a will, and each deputation brings fresh heaps of presents—bananas, and pigs, and fowls, and mats, and ancient weapons, and shells, and, in short, specimens of all native "objects of art and science." The deputations plunge furiously at the Earl; "they embraced him whenever they could get hold of him; they crowned him with riva-riva crowns; they girded him with strange belts, and clothed him with wild-coloured matting, till he looked like a cross between a Roman Catholic priest in full canonicals and a youthful Bacchus." When the storm of kisses and embraces had partially lulled, the King's life-guard performed such a drill as never was performed before; in fact, by the description, it appears to have partaken far more of a scene in a ballet than of any operation known to military sciences. The overflowing enthusiasm of the simple savage was not satisfied even with these demonstrations; the yacht was speedily flooded with a crowd of excited girls and men, and the proceedings ended with a national dance so expressive and picturesque that the Queen finally interposed in the interests of propriety.

This appears to have been the culminating point of the festivities by which the fortunate Earl was everywhere greeted. We have no space to quote more—not even to tell how the lovely princess, the beauty of Samoa, chewed cava for him with her own fair mouth, and ultimately produced a drink which, though he describes it as tasting like "thin gruel, into which the slightest suspicion of white pepper and rhubarb had been cast," was delicious for the sake of the giver. This was unluckily the last entertainment of the travellers, for shortly afterwards their yacht was hammered to small pieces against a coral reef, and they escaped after considerable danger in their boats. The main object of the narrator is to explain to us how admirably his captain and crew behaved, and to express his own extreme dislike to figuring in a romantic adventure. He calls himself a fool, and denies that he is a hero. It would be uncivil to contradict a gentleman, and we will therefore only say that, when we are wrecked on a desert island in the Pacific or elsewhere, we shall be very willing, in spite of these little drawbacks, to accept him for a companion. We could at least depend upon him to see the comic side of the most tragic occurrence. Meanwhile we must add a word or two as to the more serious reflections which, in spite of his rollicking tone of high spirits, he has added in the last chapters of his book. Without attempting to analyse his account of missionary enterprise, his view would seem to be to the following effect. The good-natured kindly savages—if it is fair to call them savages—are thorough gentlemen, and possess every virtue under heaven, with two trifling exceptions; they are hopelessly lazy, and they hardly know what chastity means. The missionaries have succeeded in putting upon them a superficial varnish of Christianity, but the old character remains substantially unchanged. The old heathen dances, which were supposed to have been long ago suppressed, break out, as we have seen, at a moment's notice; and at intervals, people like the Maoris, who were supposed to be model converts, sometimes cast off their new creeds as easily as their clothes. The genuine South Sea islander appears to be, like Pope's women, "matter too soft a lasting mark to bear"; and though he may be easily governed, he can hardly be transformed in character. The Roman Catholic missionaries have great advantages over their Protestant rivals in the superiority of their discipline, and the more picturesque character of their worship. Yet if the Earl, who seems to have a hearty dislike to that form of religion, is to be trusted, these advantages are counterbalanced by their tendency to introduce political disturbances, by the sus-

* *South Sea Bubbles.* By the Earl and the Doctor. London: Bentley & Son. 1872.

picion with which the French are regarded in those seas, and by the more special and characteristic circumstance that the natives utterly refuse to see the advantage of celibacy:—

I will back [he says, in his characteristic style] half-a-dozen enthusiastic Jesuits or Marists, going the round of Polynesia, to do more to demoralize the people and shake what hold Christianity has upon them than five hundred of the most dissolute sailors.

The Wesleyans, on the other hand, are, we are told, not only tyrannical and given to insist upon Sabbatical observance and teetotalism, regardless of consequences, but are given to mixing commerce with conversion in a very questionable manner. The most successful missionaries, according to the Earl, are those employed by the London Missionary Society, principally because they take things more easily, and do not try to force ideas upon the natives for which they are not yet prepared. The great advantage of the Protestant labourers generally is in their wives, whose example does more than any number of sermons to teach the virtues of fidelity and domestic affection.

We give these opinions for what they are worth, and it is to be remembered that a very lively young gentleman receiving a series of "ovations" during three months' cruise in a yacht is hardly likely to get to the bottom of all the social and religious problems involved. His merits as a lively describer of a thoroughly free and easy and utterly unconventional mode of life are so great that he need not be ambitious to rival amateur compounders of blue-books.

FREEMAN'S NORMAN CONQUEST.—VOL. IV.*

(Second Notice.)

AT the very opening of his reign, in the year of peace which followed his accession, William had already sketched out the main features of his policy—his conception of his own position as an English King, his resolve to unite England into a centralized kingdom by the destruction of the great Earldoms, his system of administrative balance in the preservation of the Teutonic system of government and law face to face with the feudal institutions of the new military aristocracy. In the later chapters of the present volume Mr. Freeman has described the gradual working out of this conception when the ground had been thoroughly cleared by the years of gradual conquest. The ecclesiastical reforms of the King and his Archbishop, Lanfranc, are described carefully and with remarkable fairness; but "the general effect of Lanfranc's administration, the reform and revival of monasticism, the impulse given to learning," is reserved for an after volume. Even so, however, some use might, we think, have been made of Gundulf, whose personal life, so recently illustrated by Dean Hook, is passed over in silence to make way for his architectural efforts. On the other hand, Mr. Freeman has for the first time shown "the friendly relations which existed at the time between churchmen of Norman and of English birth," by his examination of a very curious document, a sort of bond of spiritual confederation between Bishop Wulstan and his house at Worcester and the abbots of six monasteries, two of whom were foreigners and the rest English. The seven Abbots bind themselves into a brotherhood of devotion and mutual charity, and it clears away a good deal of misunderstanding about the real effects of the Conquest on the Church, when "we find prelates of foreign birth so readily taking their places alongside of the men of the conquered nation with whom they were brought into spiritual alliance." Here again Mr. Freeman is strongest on the constitutional side of the question. He dwells with much force on "the purely ecclesiastical character, unknown to English usage," which Lanfranc, with William's sanction, gave to the Councils which he held year after year for the reform of the Church:—

In earlier days ecclesiastical and temporal causes had been heard, and ecclesiastical and temporal decrees had been passed, in the same assemblies, local and national. The practice of separating ecclesiastical and temporal affairs had even been solemnly condemned by a formal decree of a national Gemot. But this state of things was altogether opposed to the theories of ecclesiastical propriety which were held both by Lanfranc and by William. The episcopal laws which had been hitherto in force in England were now declared by King William and his Witan to be bad and contrary to the sacred canons. The Bishops were now forbidden to bring any cause which involved questions of Canon Law, or questions concerning the cure of souls, before the ancient courts of the shire and the hundred. Hitherto the Bishop had presided alongside of the Ealdorman, and the men of the shire had given judgment in matters alike ecclesiastical and temporal. The Bishops were now to hold courts of their own, in which alone matters of ecclesiastical concern were to be judged, and in which every man was bound to appear when summoned, no less than in the court of the civil magistrate. Here we have the beginnings of those specially ecclesiastical tribunals which, with lessened powers, have survived to our own day.

Of the conscientious motives which influenced both the King and the Primate there can be no possible doubt. But Mr. Freeman has omitted to notice how remarkably the arrangement suited both of the parties who concurred in it. The ecclesiastical theory of the time was flattered by the severance of the spiritual power from the civil; while the isolation of the Episcopate from the nation threw it during the Norman and Angevin reigns helplessly into the hands of the King.

There is, as we cannot help fancying, a certain tone of languor and weariness towards the close of the volume which perhaps accounts for Mr. Freeman's treatment of a part of his work which we should

have supposed would have especially called out his powers. The various measures by which William engrafted his peculiar modification of feudalism on the older English Constitution are all accurately described, but we have no such general picture of the new Norman Constitution as Professor Stubbs has given us in two or three pages of the wonderful Introduction which he has prefixed to his little volume of *Documents Illustrative of English History*. The new administrative developments which, if they do not begin with William, were rapidly pushed forward by him; the increased jurisdiction of the King's Courts; the silent growth of a ministry and judicature in the King's Chapel; the germs of the Exchequer which one finds, for instance, in the Domesday Commissions, are passed over with little notice. Nor, again, do we find the special character of English feudalism, or the differences which separated it from the feudalism of the Continent, insisted on with Mr. Freeman's usual vigour. On the other hand, he dwells with especial animation on William's love of the chase:—

We must remember that in those days hunting had, in many parts even of our own island, not yet wholly lost its original character of defensive warfare with the wild beasts. Scottish traditions speak of the bear as still lingering on in the eleventh century, and it is certain that, at all events in the less cultivated parts of Britain, the wolf still survived to prey on the flocks, and the wild boar to ravage the fields, of men who were striving to turn the wilderness into a fruitful field. The stag and the roe, in northern Britain even the rein-deer, were still untamed rangers of the wilderness, whose flesh was sought for as food, and whose haunts might be profitably cleared for the service of man. In such a state of things hunting might be a sport, as war might be a sport, but it was something more. It was always a business; it might often be a duty.

With Ælfred, for instance, the chase had been as much a part of his Royal office as war or government; and even in the later legislation of Cnut, in the earliest Forest Law, the special claims of the Royal hunters had not interfered with the general right of every subject to slay the wild beasts on his own ground. But "with William a new period in these matters begins." What had been every man's duty was changed into the mere sport of a few privileged kings or barons; and Mr. Freeman finds in the Conqueror and his sons the first instances of that peculiar form of modern enjoyment which seeks pleasure "in the wanton infliction of suffering and death." He has perhaps borne a little too hardly on the Norman Kings, in failing to remark how inevitable such a change was as the waste progressively disappeared before the efforts of the cultivator while the habits of the Kings or nobles remained unchanged, and while the chase afforded their one means of escape, save war, from the tedium of their homes. But the observation is a very striking one, and it throws a new and satisfactory light on the bitter outbreak of the Chronicler against the new Forest Laws, and the resolute opposition of the people to them through two centuries of struggle with their Kings. As to the New Forest itself, Mr. White has, if we remember rightly, shown that there is a vast deal of exaggeration in the contemporary accounts of William's devastations; that the villages and churches, for instance, which he is said to have demolished, went on quietly enough within the extended bounds of the Forest itself. The moment indeed we get rid of the modern notion of a "Forest" as woodland, and conceive of it in the mediæval fashion simply as land exempt from the common law and subject to peculiar provisions respecting the chase, the creation or extension of Forests ceases to be a very terrible matter, and certainly does not necessarily mean the "devastation of a large tract of fertile country." Any one who knows the New Forest knows that very comfortable villages and homesteads still exist within its bounds.

This enclosure of the New Forest, however, plays, next to the execution of Walthef, the most prominent part in Mr. Freeman's theory, or rather in the contemporary English theory which Mr. Freeman has taken whole from the Chronicler and Orderic, respecting the later years of the Conqueror. With these crimes his glory is supposed to have been changed into shame, and his reign to have died out in disappointment and defeat. The theory was a natural one with any Englishman of the time, and it harmonized with the feeling of the age on the vanity of earthly glory, which we find in Orderic, as we find it in Henry of Huntingdon:—

On the guilt [says Mr. Freeman] followed the punishment. William's later days of domestic trouble, of shame and defeat, the disgraces of his arms, the mysterious deaths of his offspring—events which have no parallel in the history of his earlier days—were, so men then deemed, so many strokes of the avenger to requite the blood of Walthef, and the ruined homes and churches of Hampshire. To speculations beyond this range the historian can say neither "yea" nor "nay."

Facts, as is very often the case, will save the historian from the necessity of deciding on speculations. During the eleven years which are used to "point a moral and adorn a tale," William remained, beyond doubt, the most powerful monarch in Christendom. Without, he was strong enough to hold even Hildebrand at bay. At home his rule was unbroken by a single revolt. He was strong enough to crush the intrigues of Bishop Odo with a single blow. After two years of preparation the Danish fleet did not venture to attack him in his island realm. The Great Survey, and the completion of his system of legislation, mark these years of supposed decadence. His "domestic trouble" arose simply from the worthlessness of Robert; and the rebellion of one son—a rebellion extinguished almost without an effort—was more than compensated by the fidelity and affection of his two younger boys. The death of a single son is no very rare calamity in a family. The "mysterious" death of his daughter rests on a fanciful legend. The "shame and defeat" resolve themselves into a wound received at the hand of his son and a repulse before Dol, for his withdrawal

* *The History of the Norman Conquest of England, its Causes and its Results.* By Edward A. Freeman, M.A., Hon. D.C.L., late Fellow of Trinity College. Vol. IV. The Reign of William the Conqueror. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 1871.

from St. Susanne was simply to meet danger elsewhere. Such events, at any rate, are too small to overcloud the greatness and glory of the last eleven years of William's reign. The view of his government during this period is fair and just, both in its notice of the order he preserved and of the peculiar character of the oppression which was practised under the forms of law. In his mention of the Judicial Duel, Mr. Freeman might have noticed the abhorrence with which the introduction of it seems to have been regarded by the English. The later history of either Leicester or St. Edmondsbury shows how dearly they were ready to pay to free themselves from its yoke. But the most novel part of Mr. Freeman's close lies in his narrative of the revival of the Benedictine monasticism in the North. From all the country north of the Humber the monks had been cleared away by the sword of the Danes, and Selby was the first religious settlement in the old Northumbria. The true revival, however, dates from the arrival of Prior Ealdwine of Winchcombe with two brethren from Corsham. "The three set forth on foot, with an ass to carry their books and vestments," and finally settled in the ruins of Jarrow. Among those who followed their example was one whose story furnishes an admirable illustration of the time:—

Turgot, in after days Prior of Durham, Bishop of Saint Andrews, and biographer of the holy Queen Margaret, was an Englishman of noble birth in the parts of Lindsey. Already, it would seem, a priest, he was given to William as one of the hostages for the obedience of his shire. Kept in ward in the castle of Lincoln, he escaped by dint of a bribe to his keepers, and made his way to a Norwegian ship in the haven of Grimsby. In that very ship certain ambassadors from King William to King Olaf of Norway had already taken their passage. The hostage had been sought for in the ship by the King's officers, but the friendly Northmen kept him hidden till the ship had actually sailed. Then the hostage for whom such search had been made suddenly appeared before the astonished eyes of the envoys. They called on the sailors to turn back again, that the King's fugitive might be delivered up to him. The Northmen refused, and William's ambassadors had to put up with the company of the man who was fleeing from William's prison. The English priest was received in Norway with all honour, and the pious King Olaf took him as his master in divine things. But the heart of Turgot was ever and anon stirred by calls to the monastic life. At last, enriched with the gifts of the friendly Norwegian King, he set sail to return to England.

Eventually Turgot settled at Wearmouth, and revived the old religious house of Benedict Biscop. The story throws light on the dispersion of the English exiles after the Conquest, which is yet more remarkably brought out in Mr. Freeman's monograph on the Varangian body-guard at the Court of Constantinople.

In any review of such a volume as this it is impossible to do justice to the amazing research and critical judgment displayed throughout, or to notice all the points on which light has for the first time been thrown. The Hereward story, for instance, is cleared from its veil of legend; and William's policy towards Ireland is explained by his design of adding it to his dominions. The appendices are, as before, models of critical investigation, though we are sorry to find that the mystery about the siege of Oxford remains, after all Mr. Freeman's trouble, as great as before. The merits as well as the faults of his style remain unchanged. He is still forcible and exact, he still rises to a severe eloquence on great matters; but there is still the same tendency to diffuseness and repetition, and what we must call, for want of a better word, allusiveness. People are described by their titles or their fathers' names, or by some exploit or characteristic, when their own names would serve the purpose far better. The least satisfactory bit in the whole volume is unfortunately the description of William's death. But if anything could atone for this, it would be the new touch of interest which Mr. Freeman has added to the after story in his description of the fire which broke out at the Conqueror's burial. There are a few minor points which suggest themselves as we close. "Cenomanians" is an awkward phrase when "Mancels" exists in Wace and the dialect of the country to-day. The special meaning of the word "Commune," the founding a new liberty on the "conjuratio" of the guild brethren rather than on any traditions of the past, is hardly brought out in the account of the rebellion of Le Mans. A false impression is produced when Mr. Freeman translates the "barbari" of Orderic or William of Poitiers as "barbarians." It is merely a bit of the false classicism of the time; and Lanfranc, in using the phrase of the English, simply meant "strangers," as Lambert did when he used it of the Normans themselves. But specks of this sort do little more than bring out the general accuracy with which the vast mass of information which Mr. Freeman has brought to bear is treated throughout. We shall look forward with interest to the new volume which is to complete the history of the Conquest.

BENCE JONES ON THE ROYAL INSTITUTION.*

IT can hardly have been possible to make a book of very lively or absorbing interest out of the history of the Royal Institution. But it cannot in fairness be denied that Dr. Bence Jones, out of the materials at his disposal, and within the scope to which his subject naturally limited itself, has succeeded in making up a volume of much value as the record of a movement which has had an important influence upon the progress of science in this country. Besides availing himself with due effect of the opportunities afforded him by his official position as Secretary to the Institution in Albemarle Street, he has searched widely and afar for fresh or forgotten facts bearing upon its history and development.

* *The Royal Institution; its Founder, and its First Professors.* By Dr. Bence Jones, Honorary Secretary. London: Longmans & Co. 1871.

A great part of the volume, and that which will beyond doubt have the chief interest for readers at large, naturally takes the form of biographical notices of the founder and of the successive men of scientific fame whose discoveries or teachings have given to the Institution a place of power in the world of intellect. So rapidly evanescent as regards the public at large is the glory of the pioneers or conquerors of nature, that the achievements, if not the very name, of Count Rumford may need to be recalled by somewhat of an effort to the minds of the existing generation. The "phenomenon" of his day, who, in a term of years within the ordinary span of life, had made his mark upon well nigh every department of human energy and knowledge, may well claim to have the monument of his genius and toil set in its fitting light before the eyes of posterity, and the lines which record his merits chiselled, so to say, afresh after half a century of decay. A life of Rumford, written by Dr. G. E. Ellis, of Boston, for the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, has furnished many particulars unattainable before, which have been supplemented by despatches and letters in the manuscripts relating the American War in the library of the Royal Institution, as well as by the unpublished correspondence of Sir Joseph Banks in the archives of the Foreign Office and in the State Paper Office.

The descendant of a certain James Thompson, who in 1630 landed at Charlestown, Massachusetts, as one of Winthrop's company, and settled at Woburn, about ten miles thence inland, Benjamin Thompson was born March 26, 1753, at his grandfather's farmhouse at Woburn. At the age of three the child lost his father, Captain Ebenezer Thompson, and his mother married again. He was not however neglected; but, though described as fickle and careless and disliking regular work, he had the benefit of a good grammar school, such as the law of Massachusetts required in every village, and he made special progress in arithmetic. Quick and energetic in his own way, he had a special aptitude for mechanical work, and at fourteen turned out a machine of his own for solving the problem of perpetual motion. Seeming unfit to be made a farmer, he was apprenticed for a while to a general goods dealer at Salem, and at the age of seventeen to a store-keeper of the same class at Boston. As early as this he was writing upon light, heat, and the wind, making fireworks, getting himself an electrical machine, and drawing caricatures. After grounding himself for eighteen months under Dr. John Hay in anatomy, chemistry, materia medica, surgery, and physic, followed by a medical course at Cambridge, he became master of a school at Concord, New Hampshire, formerly called Rumford. Here was the crisis of his life which doubtless in later years prompted his choice of a title. His marriage with a rich widow, Mrs. Rolfe, made him one of the chief men of the place. A major's commission in one of the provincial regiments introduced him to a military career. The breaking out of the War of Independence seems to have found him wavering in his choice of a side, but he is ultimately found in the King's service, and sent to England in March 1776 with the news of the evacuation of Boston. Here his scientific tastes brought him into notice among the leading men of intellect, and he was made a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1778, after having contributed to the *Philosophical Transactions* several papers upon gunpowder and projectiles, a subject which he had experimentally studied during a cruise on board the fleet. Meanwhile he had been engaged in the political service of the Government, and served as Under-Secretary of State for the Northern Department. In 1781 he was appointed Colonel of the King's American Dragoons, and was despatched with his regiment to Charlestown, serving with distinction until the disbanding of that corps at the close of the war. Love of a military life induced Colonel Thompson to embark in 1783 for the Continent, intending to seek service in the war expected to come off between Austria and the Turks. The "grand Gibbon," as the vainglorious historian styles himself, mentions meeting "Mr. Secretary-Colonel-Admiral-Philosopher Thompson" on board the Calais packet, September 17. An accident changed the course of Thompson's career. Such was the impression produced by him at Strasburg upon Prince Maximilian, afterwards Elector and King of Bavaria, that an offer was at once made him of military service under the Bavarian crown. Knighted by George III., Sir Benjamin Thompson received the King's permission to close with the offer.

The wonderful energy and versatility of his character now found a fitting field for its exercise. His first work in Bavaria was to rearrange the military service, and to introduce a new system of order, discipline, and economy among the troops. Ever mindful, he writes, of that great and important truth, that no political arrangement can be really good except in so far as it contributes to the general good of society, he made it his endeavour to render the military force even in times of peace subservient to the public weal, "to make soldiers citizens, and citizens soldiers." Fixed garrisons were formed, to which were attached military gardens, especially for the culture of the potato, and work-houses for the manufacture of clothing and accoutrements for the army, upon which, after six years, a net profit was declared at Munich alone of 100,000 florins. Of none of Thompson's measures was he more proud than of employing the army to sweep away the swarms of beggars, thieves, and vagabonds by which the country was infested. A system of mounted police was formed out of four regiments of cavalry. To make the vicious and abandoned happy, the general idea had been first to make them virtuous. Reversing the maxim, Thompson would make them "first happy, and then virtuous." A public building on a large scale was made to comprise a public kitchen, a bakehouse,

an eating-room, workshops for carpenters, smiths, turners, tool-makers, spinners of cotton, wool, and worsted, weavers of all kinds, dyers, fullers, and those engaged in washing. At this house of industry as many as 1,500 people were sometimes fed in one day, at a cost for fuel of no more than twelve kreutzers—fourpence-halfpenny. There is no little mystery as to how the funds for this gigantic phalanstery, which seems to combine much of the national workshops of French Socialists with sundry of the objects of Mr. Scott Russell's Committee, were forthcoming, and what was its ultimate financial or social success. We hear of subscriptions being invited, and gifts of bread, meat, and clothing being taken in. The work done was paid for; and the greater part being destined for the army, the result was doubtless for a while a great stimulus to trade and manufacture at the public expense. No wonder that when the great director of all this combined philanthropic and economic machinery was reported to be dangerously ill at Naples, the poor of Munich in multitudes put up prayers in church for him, Protestant as he was. In 1791 he was made a Count of the Holy Roman Empire, having been previously raised to the rank of major-general and Privy Councillor of State, and placed at the head of the War Department.

In 1795 Count Rumford again visited London, and here he promulgated, in an essay upon provision for the poor, with especial reference to his Munich establishment, the original idea of the Royal Institution. A light which will be entirely new to most people in this country is thrown by Dr. Bence Jones upon the primary design of this establishment, by the publication of Rumford's prospectus, dated January 1, 1796. This was a proposal for "forming in London by private subscription an establishment for feeding the poor, and giving them useful employment, and also for furnishing food at a cheap rate to others who may stand in need of such assistance." Connected with it, yet essentially subsidiary to it, was an "institution for introducing and bringing forward into general use new inventions and improvements, particularly such as related to the management of heat and the saving of fuel, and the various other mechanical contrivances by which domestic comfort and economy may be promoted." A public kitchen was to form the first nucleus of this institution, which was taken up by a number of distinguished and benevolent personages, the King himself accepting the office of patron. It was as a Society for Bettering the Condition of the Poor that its founder continued to refer to it in his letters from abroad to the managing Board after the scheme had been fairly launched. It is interesting, and we need scarcely add gratifying, to note, by the aid of Dr. Bence Jones's records, the steps whereby the philanthropic element of the design gradually merged in the scientific. The process was aided in the main by an intermediate portion of Rumford's scheme—the formation of a class of working mechanics, whose lack of knowledge was to be supplied by instruction in science and the arts, while work was to be allotted to them under the eye of the officers and lecturers of the Institution. In a large room on the ground-floor "we built up," writes Webster, the architect of the Institution, "for practising the men, chimneys and fireplaces of all kinds in a slight manner, pulled them down, and built up others. We fitted up improved fireplaces within, models of old-fashioned cottage chimneys, also boilers of various kinds, and showed how smoky chimneys might be cured," &c. Eighteen or twenty young men were to be boarded and lodged in the house. It was not till the second and much ampler prospectus of 1800, put forth by Count Rumford, that anything was said about providing attractions for the rich and diffusing a spirit of experimental investigation among the higher ranks of society. The setting up of a printing-press within the premises, primarily for the publication of the journals of the Institution, together with the appointment of a professor of natural philosophy and chemistry, "to the end that no false scientific doctrine might be taught at the Institute," and for the superintendence of all the philosophical experiments to be carried on thereat, were steps of progressive importance towards the mission which the Institution has since fulfilled in the world of science.

Its later history is bound up with the lives and the scientific discoveries of the able men who have in succession worked in its laboratory and lectured in its theatre. Of Dr. Garnett, the first lecturer, who held the post for less than two years, there is not much that Dr. Bence Jones has found to tell us. Nor in his lives of Young and Davy has he added much to what was generally known of the careers and labours of those distinguished men. His pages are more occupied with minute details from the journals of the Institution than with the strides in scientific progress which, by the agency of its illustrious staff, it has been the means of making good. There can be little doubt that the crisis in its life coincides with the retirement of its founder from the dictatorship which he exercised over it, and the consequent abandonment of the philanthropic crotchets which would have made science a mere stalking-horse, if not a laughing-stock. Of Rumford's personal qualities Dr. Bence Jones speaks with a tenderness which is pardonable in one writing, so to say, as the mouthpiece of the eccentric Count's darling creation. But it is impossible to keep back the impression of egotism, of fussiness, and of inordinate self-sufficiency which every word and deed of his went to form in the minds of those who had to do with him. This idea of his character breaks out most forcibly in the otherwise friendly *éloge* of him pronounced by Cuvier before the French Academy, January 9, 1815. In his public services and seemingly benevolent enterprises, it was not love for mankind so much as the love of dominating and ordering them

about that animated Rumford. He had the ideas of a slave-master or the pedantic absolutism of a mandarin. It seemed, said Cuvier, as though all the low passions which he had been wont to observe in the wretches under his care, or in those whom his own good fortune had made jealous, had soured him against human nature. In milder terms Dr. Young speaks of Rumford as "ambitious of fame and distinction, and having too great a propensity to dictate without sufficiently regarding the opinions of those who were of equal authority with himself." The closing years of Rumford's life were clouded by domestic troubles as well as by bickerings with the French servants. Having lost his wife in 1792, he was induced to contract, in 1804, a marriage with Madame Lavoisier, the widow of the celebrated chemist, which ere long resulted in bitter quarrels, and eventually in a formal separation. To his daughter by the earlier marriage he writes of the "horrible purgatory" of the three and a-half years that he was living with that "tyrannical, avaricious, unfeeling woman." On the other hand, his daughter, even after the separation, was charmed with her, and speaks of her "truly admirable character." With this more favourable view agrees M. Guizot's glowing picture of her, drawn in 1841, five years after her death. The source of difference is probably to be found in the intense individuality and irrepresible force of will which belonged to each partner in the ill-assorted match. With all Rumford's faults of temperament, there can be no dispute as to his powers of intellect or his services to science. Not to speak of his indirect contribution to the cause of knowledge in the Institution which owes to him its existence, there were in his multitudinous writings the germs of not a few of the leading discoveries of the last half-century. On the subject of light and heat in particular, with their relation to motion, his experiments and reasonings entitle him to a permanent place among the foremost ranks of physical discoverers. Rumford's genius, energy, and fertility of resource were such as could not fail to leave their mark upon any age. We cannot help wondering at what particular point they would have placed him among the political schemers and scientific workers of our day.

ANDREW BORDE.*

WE have been too slow in noticing a very curious book. We will lay aside all cavils whether books of the reign of Henry the Eighth come within the natural scope of an Early English Text Society, when we get matter of such intrinsic interest as Mr. Furnivall has now given us. Nay, we will go further. In consideration of the curious descriptions of foreign parts given us by Andrew Borge, we can even forgive the astounding gambols of his Editor. We feel fairly carried into Wonderland, or into regions behind the Looking-Glass, when a grave philologist at the end of his preface—we beg pardon, his Forewords—shrieks out, "Oh, fair-haired Alice, how well you waltz!" We can smile complacently while Mr. Furnivall tells us about his games with his boy, his long walks with his wife, his races, picnics, drives, visits, dances, and chats, and how "the angry roar of war came to trouble his sweet content, and made him feel it wrong almost to think of private pleasures or Society's work." While Mr. Furnivall was waltzing with fair-haired Alice, and otherwise so enjoying himself with "pleasant outdoor country life" that he could not work in the midst of it, the German war came into his Paradise like the Jabberwock, and made it impossible to take any interest in "printer's dates, or Boorde's allusions." Mr. Furnivall heads the last page of his Forewords, "Hard to work in the country. Woe to Louis Napoleon." Let Mr. Furnivall speak for himself. There are those who willingly said Amen to Mr. Furnivall's anathema, but who are so far from admitting Mr. Furnivall's dogma that it is impossible to work in the country that they do not understand how anybody can work anywhere else.

But, leaving the caperings of Mr. Furnivall, and stifling our desire to learn something more as to the adventures of the fair-haired Alice, we will turn to the life and works of Dr. Andrew Borge. His life was a strange one. He was brought up at Oxford, and became a Carthusian monk while still under age. Mr. Furnivall thinks it necessary to refute the opinion of Mr. Lower that he was the same as a certain Andrew Borge, a *nativus* or *villain* regardant who was set free by a deed of George Neville, Lord Abergavenny, in the second year of King Henry the Eighth. The personal question is of no great moment; but the existence of villains to enfranchise so late as 1510 is a fact to be noticed. It is well known that villainage was never formally abolished in England, but that it died out by the gradual enfranchisement of all the members of the villain class. It is also well known that cases of villainage can be found a good deal later than 1510. Still by that time we are getting so near to the disappearance of the class that each case of enfranchisement may be looked upon as a personal step towards its extinction. But whether our Andrew the monk was or was not the same person as Andrew the villain, we presently, in 1521, hear of his being "dispensed with the religion" by a Papal Bull, in order to be a suffragan to

* *The Fyrst Booke of the Introduction of Knowledge made by Andrew Borge of Physycke Doctor. A Compendious Regyment or a Dyetary of Helth, made in Mountpyllier, Compiled by Andrew Boorde of Physycke Doctor. Barnes in the Defence of the Berde: a Treatise made, answeringe the Treatise of Doctor Boorde upon Berdes.* Edited, with a Life of Andrew Boorde, and Large Extracts from his Breviary, by F. J. Furnivall, M.A. London: Published for the Early English Text Society, by Trübner & Co. 1870.

Robert Sherborn, Bishop of Chichester, an aged prelate, who had been largely employed in diplomacy under Henry the Seventh, and who is locally famous as the founder of certain prebends and as the builder of the episcopal dining-room. It seems however that Borde never actually became a Bishop, and eight years later, in 1529, he was again "dispensed of religion" for quite another purpose—namely, in order to go abroad and study medicine. Somehow or other, whether at Montpellier or anywhere else, he must have taken the degree of Doctor in that faculty; but the notion that he took such a degree at Oxford is by Mr. Furnivall vigorously scouted as "gammon." He seems to have led a strange, wandering, and not altogether reputable life, being several times charged with incontinence, and getting into prison more than once on different charges. In fact he seems to have died in the Fleet Prison; at all events he was there when he made his will in 1549. His story is chiefly made out from his letters to Cromwell and others, many of which Mr. Furnivall prints at large. In one letter, bearing date 1536, he tells Cromwell "pat I am now in Skotland, in a lytle unuersyte or study namyd Glasco, wher I study and practice physyk, as I haue done in dyuerse regions and prouynces, for þe sustentacyon off my lyuyng"; in another place we come once more across the city of Chester and the impenetrable darkness which seems to brood over its ecclesiastical foundations, handed on perhaps from the days of the Chester mysteries. Borde has occasion to mention "þe ryth honorable esquire master Cromett, and my lord of Chester." Mr. Furnivall puts in a note—"A Prior. Henry VIII., when Prince of Wales, was Earl of Chester. The Bishopric of Chester was erected 4 Aug. 1542." We do not see what these two indisputable propositions, the former of which is as true of the present Prince of Wales as it was of his predecessor, have to do with Borde's very natural description of "my lord of Chester," by which he of course means the Abbot of St. Werburgh's. Borde's writings were very miscellaneous and very curious. Mr. Furnivall gives us in the Forewords large extracts from those which he does not print at length, but we have the full text of what is doubtless the most curious of all—"The fyrst boke of the Introduction of Knowledge." "Dedycated to the right honorable and gracious lady Mary, daughter of our souerayne Lorde Kyng Henry the eyght." Here we have the text with the original woodcuts, the whole fairly answering the promise in the title:—

The whych dothe teach a man to speake parte of all maner of languages, and to know the usage and fashion of all maner of countreys. And for to know the most parte of all maner of coynes of money, the whych is current in every region.

The book is most curious and amusing throughout. Borde goes through nearly all Europe, besides some small excursions into other parts of the world, and everywhere he gives both a versified and a prose account of the country and its inhabitants, headed by a grotesque woodcut. In most cases, but not in all, the description is followed by a specimen of the language of the country, with an interlinear English version. Like a good philologist, he commonly chooses the numerals among his specimens. We thus get the exact measure of Borde's attainments in the matter of language, and we see how different tongues sounded in the ears of an intelligent Englishman of the sixteenth century. He begins with England, and, whereas in other cases the inhabitant is drawn in the costume of his country, the Englishman appears unclothed, with a piece of cloth and a pair of shears ready to cut his garments according to the fashion of the moment. Of the English language he unpatriotically says:—

The speche of Englande is a base speche to other noble speches, as Italian, Castyllon, and Frenche; howbeit the speche of Englande of late dayes is amended.

This amendment, as Mr. Furnivall hints in a note, doubtless means the displacement of true English words by "long Latin and Greek coinages." The accounts of Cornwall, Wales, Ireland, and Scotland are most curious. Of Cornwall he says that it has two languages, "the one is naughty Englyshe, and the other is Cornyshe speche. And there be many men and women the whiche cannot speake one worde of Englyshe, but all Cornyshe." The naughty English would seem, as might be expected, to be West-Saxon; at least the Cornishman is made to say *iche* where the Englishman says, in modern form, *I*. He gives a specimen of Cornish and afterwards a specimen of Welsh; but he makes no remarks on the likeness between the two tongues. But after he has given his specimen of Irish, and moves into Scotland, he says with great truth:—

In Scotland they haue two sondry speches. In the northe parte, and the parte ioyning to Ierland, that speche is muche lyke the Iryshe speche. But the south parte of Scotland, and the vsuall speche of the Peeres of the Realme, is lyke the northern speche of Englande.

Borde's verses on the Welsh, Cornish, Irish, and Scots are throughout bitterly satirical. And he takes care to tell us that "Scotland is a kyngdome, the kyng of the whyche hath in olde tyme come to the parliament of the kyng of Englande, and hath be subiect to Englande." He has also a curious remark on the ecclesiastical position of England. It would hardly have done in his time to talk about "alterius orbis Papa," but he sets forth the same doctrine in another shape:—

In Englande is a metropolytane, the whych is a patriarke; and ther be now but few; for there was a patriarke of Ierusalem, ther is a patriarke at Constantinople, and there is a patriarke at Venis; but all these aforesayde patriarkes hath not, one for one, so many bysshops vnder them as the patriarke or metropolytan of Englande.

After Scotland he goes to Shetland, or, as he writes it, Shot-

land, and then to "Fryce" or "Fryceland," where he comments on the freedom still retained by the inhabitants, who "wolde not be subject to no man, although they be vnder the Emperours dominion." "Theyr speche," he adds, "is lyke to base Germanyens spech; it doth dyffer but lyttle." He makes the same remark on the speech of Flanders, Holland, Zealand, Brabant, "Hanago," Gelderland, "Cleuelonde," "Gulyk," and "Lewke." The speech of all these countries is "Base Doche," though in "Hanago," "they do speke in diuers places, as well Frenche as Doche." At last we get a special chapter of "base Almayn," with a specimen of the speech, and the geographical description of its extent:—

Base Almayne, or base Doche londe, rechyth from the hydermost place of Flaunders and Hennago, to the cite of Mense, and to Argentyne, as some Doche men holdeth opynion.

Argentyne, we suppose, is Argentoratium or Strassburg. He goes on to tell us that "the cheefe Cyte of Doche land or Almayne is the noble cyty of Colyn."

Then follows "Hyghe Almayne or hyghe Doch lond," and Borde has hardly got there before he begins to make mock of "yonkers." As for the geography of the country:—

Hyghe Almayne, or hyghe Doche londe, begynneth at Mens, and some say it begynneth at Dornes, and contayneth Swaerlonde or Swechlonde, and Barslonde, and the hylles or mountayns of the most part of Alpes, stretching in length to a town called Trent-by-yonde the mountayns; half the towne is Doche, and the other half is Lombardy. There is a greete dyfference betwixt Hyghe Almayne and Base Almayne, not only in their speche and maners, but also in their lodgyngs, in their fare, and in their apparel.

He then goes to Denmark, where he remarks that "theyr speche is Douche," a remark true only in the widest sense of the word. Thence he comes into Saxony, which he describes as a "Dukedomshyp, And holdeth of hymselfe." Led astray by a name, he begins to "maruel greatly how the Saxons should conquere Englonde, for it is but a smalle countre to be compared to Englonde." Their spech, we need hardly say, is "Doch speche," but what chiefly strikes Andrew Borde in Saxony is the prevailing innovations in religion:—

They do not regarde the byshoppe of Rome, nor the Romayns, for certayne abusious. Martyn Leuter and other of hys factours, in certayne thynges dyd take synistral opinions, a concernyng prestes to hau wyues, wyth such lyke matters.

This description Mr. Furnivall seems not to understand, for he adds in a note:—

Andrew Boorde speaks, I suppose, as a Saxon heretic here (Pope=Bp. of Rome), Romanist though he had been, and condemning Luther as he does in the next lines.

Andrew Borde does not at all speak as a Saxon heretic, but as a dutiful subject of King Henry the Eighth, who dedicates his book to that King's daughter. In the eyes of such a one the Saxons were praiseworthy in so far as they had cast off the usurped authority of the Bishop of Rome, blameworthy in so far as they had fallen into the heretical innovations of Martin Luther. Then comes the kingdom of "Boeme," where also Borde is scandalized at the heresies of the natives, and somewhat strangely reports their speech, without any qualification, to be "Doch." Yet more strangely, in the kingdom of "Poll," he pronounces the speech to be "corrupt Doche," and in his eyes "the spech of Hungary is corrupt Italian, corrupt Greke, and Turkysh." It is plain that Borde, who seems to have been a fair Teutonic and Celtic scholar, had not ventured on Slavonic, much less on Magyar; but when he reaches Greece he carefully distinguishes between "the trewe Greke" and "such Greke as they do speke at Constantinople and other places in Greece," and he gives specimens of both. But here we cannot exactly follow Andrew's geography. Greece in his eyes is a land "by-yonde Hungary; it is a great region and a large countre." It contains seven provinces:—"Dalmacye, Epire, Elades, Tessaly, Mæcydon, Acayra, Candy, and Cielades." He knows that now the Turk has it under his dominion, but he still seems to think that St. Sophia is a Christian church "in the whyche be a wonderfull syght of preistes." He has elsewhere a separate chapter of the Turks and of Turkey, but he gives no geographical limit to the country. He gives the Turkish numerals, and also the Egyptian, and ends with the Jews and "Jury," where he draws much the same distinction between good and bad Hebrew which he had already made between good and bad Greek. We hurry over the Italian part, curious as it is, but we must notice that when he comes to France he strongly asserts the right of England to "Aqytany, Gascony, Bion, and Normandy." In the Spanish peninsula he somewhat curiously distinguishes "Catalony and the kingdom of Aragon," "Andalase," "Cyuel," "the kyngdome of Portyngale," "Spayne," "the kyngdome of Castyle and of Biscay," and "the kyngdome of Nauar." It is not easy to see what he meant distinctively by Spain. He tells us that "Byskay and Castyle is under Spayne." "The cheife cities and townes in Spayne is Burges and Compostel" and "theyspech is Castyllon." "The spech of Portyngale" also "is Castillyone; how be it in some certen wordes they doth swerue from the true Castyllon speche." But it marks Borde's accuracy that, in counting up the Spanish kingdoms of Charles the Fifth, he reckons only "part of the kingdom of Nauar." He remarks that "the Emproure doth ly much in Catalony," and heads the chapter with the image of Caesar so clearly marked by his Imperial crown as to need no superscription. Mr. Furnivall adds in the margin the strange comment, "The Emperor of Austria dwells in Catalonia."

The important bearing which these descriptions of Borde's

have on various points will be easily seen by the discerning reader. We confess that we envy him his power of talking of "Acon," "Colyn," and "Lewke," but anything is better than betraying cities of the Empire to the Welsh enemy.

MORLEY'S VOLTAIRE.*

THERE is an amusing passage in one of Sainte-Beuve's Essays in which he complains of the difficulty not only of getting at the truth about men and things in the first instance, but of keeping to it afterwards. He gives humorous expression to the distress of an elderly scholar who has been at some pains to investigate various subjects, and to arrive at careful and nicely balanced conclusions respecting them, and who finds everything challenged and all the old questions reopened by impetuous young men who are anxious only to make out a case for their own theories, and who set up all manner of imaginary characters to represent their predilections or aversions. Voltaire has always been a favourite subject for treatment of this kind. In his own day he was known not only to France but to Europe. He had visited England, Holland, Prussia, and Switzerland; he was always flitting about, and always making talk and attracting attention. He carried on a wide and varied correspondence; he published a great deal in his own name, or under assumed names which were readily penetrated; and his writings and adventures gave rise to quite a voluminous body of literature. Everything that it was essential to know about him was known either in his lifetime or soon afterwards. Nothing has since been discovered which could materially affect our judgment of him. And yet there have been repeated fluctuations of opinion as to his character and philosophy, and the controversy seems to be perpetually renewed. During the greater part of his life, while he was an active member of society, he was thoroughly understood and appreciated by the people around him, and a very fair impression of him can be obtained from their correspondence and memoirs, after making due allowance for malice on the one hand or partiality on the other. In his last years, after he had shut himself up at Ferney, he was contemplated from a distance with admiring awe by a generation which knew nothing of his youthful freaks and exhibitions of temper, and which revered him as an oracle of universal wisdom and authority. People wrote to him from all parts of the country humbly soliciting his interest or advice. If a man had any grievance against the Government or the Church, or any doubt on a point of history, literature, or philosophy, it was to Voltaire that he applied for assistance. "A burgomaster of Middleburgh," he informs Madame du Deffand, "whom I do not know, wrote to me a little while since to ask me in confidence whether there is a God or not; whether, in case there be one, he takes any heed of us; whether matter is eternal; whether it can think; whether the soul is immortal; and begging me to answer by return of post." And, in the same way, it was to Ferney that reference was sure to be made if a young author wrote a book and wanted a publisher, if an actress thought she had been wrongfully deprived of the lease of a country theatre, if a couple of cavalry officers fell to disputing at the mess-table on a question of grammar. When the patriarch was seen at Paris—a comical little figure in a red coat lined with ermine, half buried in a huge Louis XIV. peruke, black, unpowdered, in which his withered visage was so hidden that only two eyes glittering like carbuncles could be seen, topped by a square red cap in the form of a crown—his oddity and affectations were perhaps somewhat of a shock to the enthusiasm of his votaries; but death speedily withdrew him from the public gaze. After the Revolution his reputation declined, for he was regarded as, in some degree, the accomplice of its crimes. Napoleon, who dreaded Voltaire dead almost more than Madame de Staël living, hired writers to blacken his memory, and the priests of course spared no effort on the same side. Dr. Johnson's saying that he would sooner sign a sentence for Rousseau's transportation than for that of any felon who had appeared at the Old Bailey for a long time, and that the difference between Rousseau and Voltaire was so slight that it would be difficult to settle the proportion of iniquity between them, probably represented for a great many years after it was spoken the prevailing English opinion of the rival philosophers who were thus bracketed in a common anathema. Even after the horror and alarm with which Voltaire was once regarded by all orthodox people had passed away, although he was judged more fairly, he was far from being popular, for his scoffing was out of harmony with the more earnest spirit and passionate humanity of the age. In our own day Voltaire's true character and position have been very clearly marked out both by French and other critics; his good qualities and his bad qualities, his greatness and his littleness, have alike been acknowledged. He has been recognized as something more than a mere smart freethinker with a fluent pen and biting tongue, though not exactly as the mouthpiece of a new religion. There has been a tendency perhaps to dwell rather too exclusively on the comic side of his character, to laugh at the philosopher who would storm and rave about the most insignificant trifles, at the high priest of humanity who had a shrewd eye for the funds and bits of land and loans to needy noblemen, who never scrupled to tell a lie if it suited his purpose, and who was perpetually scheming and intriguing to augment his fortune and to puff

his reputation. But at the same time the great intellectual force which lay beneath these outward eccentricities and deformities has also been discerned and respected. Mr. Carlyle, in one of his early essays, has summed up Voltaire's character very fairly and temperately as an unparalleled combination of many common talents, and as more remarkable for adroitness and expertness than for really heroic qualities; and in this estimate Sainte-Beuve substantially concurs. Voltaire, in fact, was rather a great intellect than a great man; his philosophy, which had its uses possibly among the accumulated impostures and corruptions of his own day, was at best partial and inconclusive; and his system, as far as anything that can be called a system is deducible from his writings, is one of mere negation and destruction.

We do not think that the accepted estimate of Voltaire is in any danger of being seriously disturbed by Mr. Morley's volume; or indeed by anything that is likely to be discovered or written about him in these days. Mr. Morley is disposed to rank Voltaire, with Luther and Calvin, among the spiritual regenerators of the world. "The existence, character, and career of this extraordinary person," he says, "constituted in themselves a new and most prodigious era. The peculiarities of his individual genius changed the mind and spiritual conformation of the West with as far-spreading and invincible an effect as if the work had been wholly done, as it was actually aided, by the sweep of deep-lying collective forces." While Luther and Calvin in their separate ways brought into prominence new ideas of moral order and Divine government, Voltaire proclaimed the power and rights of human intelligence. He led a powerful reaction against the subordination of the intellectual to the moral side of men; and henceforth, "a new type of belief, and of its shadow, disbelief, was stamped by the impression of his character and work into the intelligence and feeling of his own and the following times." Upon the facts of Voltaire's life Mr. Morley does not pretend to throw any new light. He takes them as he finds them, and except on some minor points he has so far no quarrel with the familiar biographies. He thinks, as we think, that a too exclusive prominence has been given to the grotesque side of Voltaire's career, and that even in what have been considered its most ridiculous aspects—the hardships of his life with Madame du Châtelet, his unhappy experiences at Frederick's Court, his tempests about trifles with printers, booksellers, and other people—there was almost as much to command sympathy as to provoke laughter. There was sincere affection and good faith in his attachment to the Marquise and his patience with her caprices; his relations with Frederick redound less to his own discredit than to the King's; and if he stormed over much about small things, it was because of his passionate abhorrence of injustice of any kind, respectively of the measure of material damage. To Madame du Châtelet we think Mr. Morley is rather too favourable. He has apparently overlooked an acute bit of French criticism which shows that the *femme savante*, according to Voltaire's ingenuous confession of the perplexity into which they had both been thrown by a remark of Descartes on an elementary proposition, was about as loose in her mathematics as in her morals. On the whole, Voltaire's own life was superior to his philosophy. His vices were the vices of his time, and he displayed many high qualities which proved that he was in advance of it; in spite of his explosions of temper, his shifts and subterfuges, it is necessary to do justice to his generous temper, his passion for truth, and his intellectual courage and sincerity. Even with all the precautions to which he resorted, it was a very daring thing to speak out as he did constantly and vehemently in defiance of authority. Nor was his eagerness to take part in politics, to perform diplomatic feats of intervention, and so to connect himself in some direct and practical manner with the course of events, a sign of a shallow or vulgar vanity. It showed no doubt an imperfect consciousness of his own power as a thinker and writer, which was infinitely greater and wider than that of any statesman or diplomatist; but it must be remembered that this power was not so visible to himself or to any of his contemporaries as it is to us, who can look back not only on its operation, but on its consequences; and it was natural that a man with Voltaire's vivacity and strong practical bias should at times grow weary of the slow, unseen force of words, and long to make his mark on public affairs in an unequivocal manner. "Everything," he wrote in one of his latest letters, "that I see, appears the throwing broadcast of the seed of a revolution, which must inevitably come one day, but which I shall not have the pleasure of witnessing. The young are very happy; they will see fine things." But this was just after the inspiring reception which he had met with in Paris, and he was not always in this sanguine mood. Ten years before he had wished a friend, as his best wish, "another age, other authors, other actors, and other spectators." Voltaire, like Swift, was essentially a man of action; he wrote for the most part with an immediate practical purpose, just as a Minister might write a despatch, or a Parliamentary leader join in a debate; and in a later generation it is not improbable that he might have distinguished himself as an active politician, though whether altogether for good is another question.

It is not perhaps worth while to go into the old question, how far a man like Voltaire influences, or is influenced by, the age to which he belongs; but it seems to us that it was, above all, Voltaire's susceptibility to external impressions, his faculty of reproducing in himself and his writings the image of his generation—his capacity, in short, as an interpreter—which constituted in a great measure his peculiar force. It was said of him that he was the very first man in the world for writing

* Voltaire. By John Morley. London: Chapman & Hall. 1872.

down what other people thought; and the observation is true, though not in the disparaging sense in which it was made. His originality lay in his unparalleled power of comprehending and reproducing in the most vivid and lucid manner the dumb, struggling thoughts and sensations of the world around him. An attorney's son, trained by the Jesuits, and caught up into the ante-chambers of the Court, he was the petted plaything of dukes and princes, who were amused by his sprightly grace and feline vivacities, till suddenly there was a suspicion of claws, and next a real scratch; and then a shameful beating by lacqueys, the Bastille, and exile warned the aspiring genius of the terms on which he was admitted to the tables of the great. Voltaire was the natural Nemesis of the insincere and contemptuous patronage of intellect which distinguished the "grand age." Although he never bore towards the aristocracy the conscious and open hostility which he indulged towards the Church, his shafts struck at all authority alike, and at everything which rested on reverence and prescription. He taught the people the trick of scoffing which he had learned at Court. The present perhaps is hardly an opportune moment for the publication of an eulogium on the Voltairian spirit, the practical effects of which are still so painfully conspicuous in France. Mr. Morley admits that we search Voltaire in vain for a positive creed which logic may hold in coherent bonds, or which social philosophy may accept as a religious force; and that his system is essentially one of negation. What he has to say in vindication of it is that it is the negation of darkness, and that this leads inevitably in the direction of day. This, however, is an argument which can be accepted only with considerable qualification. It may be admitted that Voltaire was honest in his passion for truth, that the exposure of what is false is a necessary step towards the manifestation of what is true, and yet we must hold that Voltaire's system was a bad one, and did more harm than good. No doubt, as Mr. Morley says, the surgeon who has couched his patient's cataract has done good service, even if he do not straightway carry him to enjoy the restored faculty on some high summit of far and noble prospect; but the question is, whether such a method of surgery as that which Voltaire brought into fashion does not tend, while perhaps removing a film from the eyes, to distort and weaken the vision. There is a long sight as well as a short sight, and an imperfect long sight may be better than a perfect short sight, especially if the latter is accompanied by a fixed and confident belief that it goes as far as it is possible or necessary to see. The mischief of Voltairism is not that it does not carry the patient up to a far and noble prospect, but that it prevents his seeing it even if it lay before him, and leads him into a false assurance that there is nothing to see, or worth seeing, except his five fingers before his nose. It is impossible to turn over any of Voltaire's writings without being struck by the inherent shallowness and superficiality of his reasoning. Examples are to be found even in Mr. Morley's own pages. Voltaire, fresh from the Bastille, rejoices over the English freedom of speech and criticism, but he happens to find a man who has been seized by the press-gang for service in the fleet, and he is immediately "afflicted at there being no liberty on the earth." He appreciated the privileges without realizing the obligations of a free society and the necessity of providing for its defence. Again, take his treatment of religious questions. The immortality of the soul is a childish delusion, because nobody would think of attributing an immortal soul to a flea, and if not to a flea or a monkey, why to his Champagne valet or village steward? Or there is his well-known argument as to the resurrection of the body. A Breton soldier goes to Canada, and, when famishing, eats a piece of an Iroquois who had fed on Jesuits for several months:—"So there is the body of the soldier with Iroquois, Jesuit, and whatever he had eaten before entering into it. How then will each resume exactly what belongs to him?" A system of discovering the truth which leads only to the discovery that there is nothing true carries its own comment on the face of it. Mr. Morley attributes Voltaire's power not merely to his exquisitely clear keen sight and lucid expression, but to the fact that he saw much that was hidden from others. We should be disposed to attribute it rather to the fact that his vision, though clear and keen, was limited in range, and to the confident dogmatism with which he conveyed the impression that he saw all that was to be seen. Truth on any great subject is seldom so clear and plain as Voltaire's incisive sentences imply; and his very lucidity should perhaps suggest suspicions. The value of a system of destructive criticism must be measured not only by what it destroys, but by what it spares.

We find that our space has been occupied in discussing Voltaire, and that we have little left for Mr. Morley. It is impossible to read his volume without being struck by its independence of thought, its sincerity and candour of expression, as well as by its ability and literary power. We have freely expressed our dissent from the views which it presents of the value and wholesomeness of the Voltairian philosophy, if that name can fairly be applied to anything so essentially unphilosophical; but at the same time it is well that such views should be fairly argued out, and that, whatever inconvenience it may occasion to people who, having once made up their minds on a subject, dislike to have them disturbed, accepted conclusions should be occasionally tested over again. Mr. Morley has given us a valuable and highly suggestive study of the great man of a very critical age, and we only wish he could have persuaded himself to give us this and nothing more. It would have been better, we think, if he had adhered to

the plan of his admirable sketch of Burke, and refrained from loose digressions upon questions of the day, which disturb the artistic unity and diminish the scientific value of the work, without supplying an adequate or satisfactory discussion of the grave subjects which are touched upon in this sidelong and incidental manner.

DISEASES OF THE HAIR.*

THIS book is an answer to a demand for more light on a curious and interesting question. A writer in the *Lancet*, it seems, has stirred a subject which comes home to many of us. In every public concourse he had found his eye attracted, fascinated as it were, by one phenomenon—the number of heads wholly or partially bald. Go where he might, to theatre, church, or Exeter Hall, wherever educated men congregated, at least one-tenth of them would certainly be either altogether bald or would show but a coronet of hair. Taking smaller assemblies, the result was the same. In one of the largest medical schools in London, out of a staff of twelve medical officers, all under fifty, only four had their heads covered with hair; and even among the students he noticed from fifteen to twenty whose crowns were only saved from visible baldness by the adroit manner in which the hair was brushed. "What is to be done?" he concludes; "where is this to stop?" It is very true that where there is a view to be established men can always see what they look for. It is not everybody who could count as many bald heads as this alarmist. Nevertheless we are disposed to think there is something in it. In the biographical literature of two or three generations back we find no personal description complete without some notice of the sit of the hair on the brow and temples. Look at the portraits of the time; they have all hair on their heads. Men who had achieved fame had still hair enough to be regarded as a feature. Walter Scott's portraits show a shaggy abundance of hair, Campbell's a fine Brutus head. De Quincey, among his points of likeness between Wordsworth and Milton, finds one in the way in which the hair lay upon the forehead. Talfourd speaks of Charles Lamb's black hair curled crisply about an expanded forehead, and so remaining for the twenty years he knew him; and of Coleridge's hair silvered all over. Haydon surveys Bentham, the white-haired philosopher, from his window, "his head the finest and most venerable ever placed on human shoulders." He maliciously records Hazlitt at the glass arranging his hair, trying different effects, and asking his advice whether he shall show his forehead more or less. What temptation has poet or philosopher to make a fool of himself by such a question nowadays? It has long ago ceased with him to be a possible alternative whether to cover his forehead or reveal its magnificent development. Time and nature have taken the matter into their own hands. In those days, to be sure, men had nothing but their hair to exercise fancy upon. The beard was an impossible archaism. Even the whisker, taking, as has been said, the form of the British mutton-chop for its model, exercised the foppiness of the dandy—the lady's man—rather than of the poet or the thinker; whose intellectual credit with the multitude was best sustained by hair on the brow alone—hair suggestive of laurels, at once shading and setting off the expansive forehead, wavy, abundant in its proper place, but strictly confining its abundance to the seat of the higher faculties.

Have beards added to the number of bald pates, on the principle that you cannot have it in meal and in malt too? If they have, it is an argument against them. Or are they a natural resource under a privation peculiar in its degree to this generation? On this point our author does not commit himself. On baldness itself he expends hard names. It is an hereditary infirmity; bald fathers have bald sons. It is a disease, he tells us; an ugly word, but carrying with it the consolatory hope that, as such, it may be cured. Yet, turning over the pages rapidly, we find the matter assume sometimes a very serious complexion. More than once we come upon the ominous summing up, "Death ensues"—a very common issue of antiquated baldness it must be allowed, but discouraging to youth under the same condition; until we learn that death ensues, not to the patient, but to the roots of his hair. We would not willingly expose a nervous subject unprepared to the perusal of a diagnosis such as the following:—

The root, unable to make any coloured material, goes on forming the fibrous structure until the last, but when the last comes, and the conical cavity in which the papilla lived becomes obliterated, no new cells are formed, and death is the result.

The only reserve or tenderness we notice in our author towards the consulters of his book is to be found in the veil which he habitually throws over its subject. He will talk of scalps as bare as the head of a barn-door turkey, but he rarely calls the hair by its own name; and a simple reader may get a long way into his treatise without knowing how nearly it concerns himself. It is the "hirsute covering," or "hairy covering," or "cranial covering," or "comate covering," or "comate treasure," or "hirsute visitor," or "hairy filament," or "hirsute appendage." We cannot say that any of these sound like pleasant personal belongings; but clearly it is a matter of delicacy not to say hair too often outright. In fact, it may be noticed that nobody can write of hair in a simple manner. The style invariably curls and oils and frizzes and

* *Diseases of the Hair.* By Benjamin Godfrey, M.D., F.R.S. London: Churchill.

disguises itself after the caprices of its subject matter. For the same reason, as a sort of inevitable wash and dressing, it is always set off by a vast amount of learning, as what Galen, and what Celsus, and what Pliny said and did, with a catalogue of all the hairy people and all the bald people on record, whether in history or in pre-historic times. But when this display has exhausted itself and subsides into repose, we come upon what seems both good sense and knowledge of a more practicable and modern date. The youth threatened with "alopecia" is encouraged to make a struggle for it. He must leave off stimulants, and beware of the Yankee prescription "to use brandy externally till the hair grows, and take it internally to clench the roots." He must eat fat in some form or other; he must apply tincture of cantharides to the sterile parts; he must shave down until it develops into stubble; he must try what arsenic and iron will do; he must follow it up with electricity, employing Smee's battery; and if all won't do—and there are obstinate cases—why wigs are very nice things, and beautifully made now; he must wear a wig.

From baldness we pass naturally to greyness; from alopecia, that is, to trichonosis cana. What is greyness? the reader is asked:—

It is analogous [is the reply] to caries of teeth; it is a nutritive change and a pigmentary degeneration resulting from neurose derangement, which leads to a degradation of nutrition, and is an unmistakable index of diminished physiological force.

Greyness Dr. Godfrey considers a surer sign of age than the parish register; and perhaps our own observations would take the same direction. Not that it indicates at all the date of death, but some people are a long time young and only a few years old, and others a long time old after but a short youth. Wordsworth lived to eighty-two and kept his hair; but from brown it changed to a harsh grizzle, very unbecoming, so De Quincey says, to his complexion, which had in its time changed through exposure to wind and weather from a fine sombre Venetian tint to red or sanguine: these changes being consequent on a temperament which lived its life faster than the generality. When under forty he was assumed by a coachful of strangers to have passed his grand climacteric; one of them, on being undeceived, exclaiming, "God bless me! so then, after all, you'll have a chance to see your childer get up like and get settled! Only to think of that!" We have known premature grey hairs on a very wise head excite a rapture of scarcely welcome veneration for the years they were supposed to crown. An early induction into the honours and privileges of old age may console the man of philosophic mind for the loss in youth of "nature's greatest ornament"; but what compensation is there to a woman for premature greyness, especially should her complexion incline to olive?—the greyness following upon neuralgia and adding gloom to dyspepsia. It is consolatory to find that medical skill can do something in this extremity, though, mindful of the old fable, we would not recommend the following practice except under experienced direction:—

In the greyness produced by neuralgia epilation is the best method. Pull out every grey filament, and keep the power of the body up while the new hair is growing. Quinine, arsenic, and iron, given internally, will help the cure, especially if there should be any pain remaining. A young lady consulted me once for this condition. She was but twenty-three years of age, and was about to be married. It took her several hours to remove every light-faced intruder, and when finished a large heap remained upon the dressing-room table. Her honeymoon was enjoyed and the grey hairs did not return. The same plan should be followed for greyness the result of disease of the stomach. But the indigestion must be cured, or all treatment for the hair will be in vain. Blanching from fright is incurable.

Our author remarks, in cases of disease and malformation, a connexion between dental and hirsute life not yet fathomed. May we not note the same in health? Every large concourse in street or market presents some vigorous physiognomy remarkable for an exuberance of both; a flash of teeth, a curl of hair, a bushiness of beard, which concentrate all notice on themselves. Such an aspect we have known rudely, but aptly enough, summed up as "all hair and teeth like a ratcatcher's dog." We do not care to enter into those points in the book which are of a more strictly medical character, however fascinating the Medusa-like *Plica Polonica* may be in its horrors. But facts on every topic interest the inquiring mind. Therefore our readers may like to know certain facts of length and strength and weight and numbers brought out here, which we leave it to them to verify by experiment. A woman's hair may grow to the length of six feet. A young lady of Massachusetts refused a thousand dollars for her "crinal covering which was only one inch short of" this measurement. The thickness of hair averages the four-hundredth of an inch—that is, four hundred hairs side by side would cover an inch of ground. The thickness of hair depends much upon the colour. "The blonde belle has about one hundred and forty thousand filaments to comb and brush, while the red-haired beauty has to be satisfied with eighty-eight thousand"; the brown-haired damsel may have one hundred and nine thousand, the black-haired but one hundred and two thousand. How few ladies, is the reflection, consider that they carry some forty or fifty miles of hair on their head! the fair-haired may even have to dress seventy miles of threads of gold every morning. A German experimentalist has proved that a single hair will suspend four ounces without breaking, stretching under the process and contracting again. But the hair thus heavily weighted must be dark brown, for the blonde breaks down under two and a half ounces.

We believe it will be observed that rustics, both men and women, and all persons engaged in outdoor labour little stimulating to the brain, keep their hair, and keep its colour unchanged,

better than men in cities, or men of sedentary and intellectual employments. To such, under the deprivation to which thinking on the one hand, or hereditary indigestion on the other, exposes them, we would offer the consolation that, as our indiscretions sometimes serve us well, so do our natural defects. Thus a bald head in a churchman may stand voucher for austerities, and may supplement and exaggerate a natural air of sanctity; while white hairs fostered, combed, and curled will impart benevolence to any set of features.

THE NUSR-I BE-NUZEER.*

WE have here the text and two independent translations of an Indian fairy tale. The original is written in Urdu, or Hindustani, and both the text and the two translations have been published for the benefit of students in Hindustani, the book being "one of the Test-books for the Examination for a Certificate of High Proficiency." The two translators have been engaged upon their work simultaneously, and probably were, and may even yet remain, unacquainted with each other's labours. Both translations profess to be literal, and make no pretensions to elegance of style. Indeed the English is sometimes so obscure as to make a reference to the original necessary for its comprehension. The story itself is of the slightest, and is one of those extravagant fairy tales which seem to excite equal interest in the Oriental adult and in the occupants of European nurseries. But in the estimation of Orientals the chief charm of the original story is the style in which it is told. It abounds in those pretty conceits, puns, *double-entendres*, far-fetched allusions, and turgid metaphors which are so agreeable to the Eastern mind, but which are untranslatable, and are utterly uncongenial to the more disciplined and less imaginative intellects of the West. The title of the work is indicative of its character. The word *nusr* signifies "prose," or a work in prose; *be-nazir* means "incomparable," and is the name of the hero of the book. So one of our translators renders the title as "Incomparable Prose," and the other as the "Story of *Be-nazir*," and both are right. The equivocal and alliteration of the title must have cost the author no little pains, and its accomplishment was no doubt regarded with some complacency.

The translators confine themselves to the mere work of translation, and tell us nothing of the origin of the book beyond what is to be gathered from its own pages. The original work was a *masnawi*, or poem written by Ghulam Hasan of Delhi. This poem, called *Sitr ul Bayan*, or "Magic of Narrative," obtained a considerable reputation. Hasan died in 1786, and his poem was printed at Calcutta in 1805. Just at the close of the last century our Government in Bengal became impressed with the importance of the Urdu or Hindustani language. It was clear that their servants must acquire a knowledge of that language, and that the old rough-and-ready way of learning it by using it could no longer be trusted to. But the language at that time had little or no literature, no books suited for learners, no settled grammar, and but few teachers. There were poems like the *Sitr ul Bayan* of some length, and plenty of minor poems and songs, but these were unfitted for the purposes of education. Fortunately the Government had at their command a man suited to the emergency—Dr. John Gilchrist, a hard-headed, self-satisfied, and somewhat crotchety Scotchman, who knew the language well, and understood what was wanted. He wrote a grammar and compiled a dictionary, and under his direction several educated natives were employed in translating works from the Persian, or, as in the instance before us, in reducing a Hindustani poem to a prose narrative. Turning now to our author's preface, he tells us that he had previously written "the tale in the vulgar tongue for beginners in an easy style," but that, under the directions of "John Gilchrist, Esq., of enlightened mind, great ability, and lofty counsel," he reproduced it "in prose and refined language, in such a style that every learned man and poet might find pleasure in hearing it, and that a memorial of his unworthy self might remain in the world." This translation was first printed in 1802, three years before the poem from which it is derived, and of which it speaks in the highest terms of eulogy, declaring every line of it to be *be-nazir*, or "incomparable," and every verse a *badr-munir*, or "glorious full moon."

The story opens by narrating that "there was a King with the dignity of an Emperor, who protected his subjects and was the asylum of the world." "His country vied with Paradise, and was very large and well populated." "He had no grief of any kind, except the pain of want of offspring," but this made him resolve upon abandoning his throne and adopting a religious life. His friends and ministers opposed this resolution, and recommended medicine, prayer, and hope. So fortune-tellers and astrologers were consulted, and they promised the birth of a son; but the boy's twelfth year was predicted to be fraught with danger, and he was

* *The Nusr-i Be-nuzeer*. Reprinted for the use of the Junior Members of Her Majesty's Indian Civil and Military Services. Second Edition. Revised and Corrected by W. Nassau Lees, LL.D., Member and Secretary of the Board of Examiners. Calcutta. 1862.

The Nusr-i Benazeer; or, the Incomparable Prose of Meer Hasan. Literally translated into English by Major Henry Court, Lieutenant Bengal Cavalry, Officiating Personal Interpreter to H.E. the Commander-in-Chief Simla. 1871.

The Nusr-i Be-nazir; or, Story of Prince Benazir. An Eastern Fairy Tale, translated from the Urdu by C. W. Bowdler Bell, Lieutenant 5th Royal Irish Lancers. Hull: Peck & Son. Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co. 1871.

not to go on the housetop to see the heavens until he was full twelve years old. The child was born, and great rejoicings followed. To preserve him from the threatened calamity, the King ordered a garden house to be built, such as should have "no equal in the flower-garden of the world." The author goes into raptures over this edifice, and enters into the most minute details and extravagant praise of all its appurtenances. But the evil could not be averted. The fairy Mah-ruk (moon-face), as she was flying through the air, perceived the young prince, and fell in love with him. She bore him off to fairy-land, and exercising what we may presume to be a fairy's privilege, she made desperate love to him, but with only indifferent success. To divert his melancholy, she lends him, upon his promise not to return home, an aerial steed like that of our old friends Valentine and Orson. Learning abroad he passes over a garden in which he espies a lovely maiden, Badr Munir, the lustrous full moon. We have a full description of her person and her charms; and her dress and ornaments are all detailed with the most minute precision and extravagance of metaphor:—

What shall I say regarding her hair?

No night has ever been the scene of such beauty.

Its blackness was wonderful, and gave lustre to the eyes; the curls were ravelled in such a way, that, in unravelling them, the heart would become ravelled, and their elegance would fascinate the soul. Her back hair was drawn tight, the parting in it was very clear, and her golden hair ribbon shone brightly; what shall I say of its colour and brilliancy, for it glowed like the Ursa Major in the last watch of the night, and underneath her veil appeared like the lightning flashing in a thin cloud; whoever saw its glitter began to call out without being able to help himself.

The golden hair ribbon has created great havoc!

It has tied the tail of the night to the day.

Or, as Mr. Bell renders the last line—

It has given a planet (or knot) to the day at the end of the night.

An obscure allusion, in which "the back hair" is referred to as "the tail of night." The two young people, of course, fall desperately in love, but Be-nazir is forced to return to the fairy. He goes again to visit his charmer, and the fairy discovers his amour. In her jealous rage she confines him in a deep well covered with a ponderous stone, and there he remains for some time, while the fair damsel pines and consumes with love and sorrow. At length her faithful friend and attendant, Najm un Nissa, "the star of women," resolves to go in search of him. Dressing herself as a wandering devotee, she roams lute in hand from place to place, until she finds the place of his imprisonment. Then, by the help of a good genius whom she has charmed, she effects his deliverance. The prince is conducted home to his father's Court, and his marriage is shortly afterwards celebrated with Badr Munir. The pomp and splendour of the ceremony form a theme worthy of the writer's powers, and he fails not to make the most of it.

Such are the very scanty materials which are made to fill one hundred and fifty octavo pages in the original language. They have been stretched to this extent by a most elaborate description of the veriest trifles, by heaping up simile upon simile, and by a liberal quotation of verses from the original poem. Both of our translators have rendered these verses in literal prose, and few of them deserve any better treatment. Here and there a poetical sentiment may be found, but in the main they consist of frivolous conceits and farfetched allusions. One line tells us that "the graceful movements of the necks (of the dancing girls) were as the wrath of the day of judgment." Some lines, describing the power of music, state how

Embracing the trees the morning breezes

Began to say in their ecstasy, Bravo! Bravo!

And such was the beauty of the music at that time,

That the moonbeams fell fainting in all directions.

Extravagant comparisons like these are accepted by the native mind without the smallest idea of burlesque, and when they are tried out with the jingle of rhyme and alliteration they exercise a charm which to us is inconceivable. A considerable portion of the work is written in what is called *Musajja*, or prose having a marked cadence and rhyme, which is considered very elegant. To describe the dresses and ornaments of the persons who figure in the work the dictionary has been ransacked for an endless variety of terms, and the most unusual and obscure words have been preferred by the author in order to achieve his object of "refined language."

This, then, is one of the works which a candidate for honours in Hindustani must study and pass in. The construction of the language of the book presents no unusual difficulties; but it requires much ingenuity to discover the point of many of its allusions, and a vast amount of labour to learn up its immense number of out-of-the-way words. An immediate pecuniary reward follows, a certificate of high proficiency, and a greater reward is in prospect in the shape of lucrative employment, so that a candidate may fairly be required to exhibit evidence of careful and varied reading. But it is a question whether study is not thrown away upon a work like this, abounding in words which a European will never hear, and certainly will never have occasion to employ; words, in fact, which are learnt with great trouble, and soon forgotten from want of use. How many Englishmen are there who know or care to know the names of the various articles and nick-nacks of female attire? A clever fashionable young lady might set a paper which would puzzle even a Civil Service Examiner, and prove that there are depths of knowledge which are almost unfathomable and altogether unprofitable.

There is little to choose between the two translations. Either

of them will greatly assist the student who has to go through the thankless toil of "getting up" the book, but neither of them can be implicitly relied on. Both gentlemen speak very moderately of their performances, and of the difficulty of rendering the book into intelligible English. If they will carefully and candidly compare the two translations, their respective versions may be greatly improved. Mr. Bell may learn that *Asi* is no part of the author's name, but a deprecatory term expressive of his unworthiness. He will also see that, instead of speaking of "Khakān and China," he should have said "the Emperor of China"—Khakān being the title by which the supreme ruler is known among the Tartar races. It was borne by Timur and Baber, and it is the name by which the Emperor of China is now known among the Turks and Mongols. Mr. Court, too, will see that his author is not responsible for the statement that "the suffron-coloured faces became yellow." The phrase *rang-ba-rang*, which they both translate literally, as "of various colours," and "of every colour," means "of every sort." It is commonly used in this way without reference to colour. There are many other slips of this kind which a careful revision would bring to light, with the result of making the translations more serviceable to those who alone are likely to read them. A man of inquisitive mind and odd taste, with an appetite for anything that is new and a relish for what is uncommon, may look into this book and may here and there find a passage to his liking; but not even he is likely to read it through, much less study it, without the strong incentive of a liberal remuneration.

The native title of the book, as transcribed in Roman letters by the gentlemen responsible for the three works before us, presents a very different appearance, and brings up again the never-ending quarrel as to the proper way of rendering Oriental names in European letters. We are no pedants or purists in this matter, and we are not sure that the reporters of Warren Hastings' days did not present a more definite entity to their readers when they boldly turned Sirāj ud Daulah into Sir Roger Dowler; but in works intended for educational purposes we have a right to expect something like system and consistency. Colonel Lees and Mr. Bell differ in their respective methods, but each adheres to his system, and is consistent. Mr. Court, however, has no system, and transcribes his vowels haphazard, neither according to spelling nor sound. This is a grievance to a learner, and we recommend Mr. Court to adopt in future some regular and intelligible method.

TWO NOVELS WITH A PURPOSE.*

A NOVEL with a purpose, to be in any way interesting, ought to be subtle and suggestive rather than direct. It should convey its meaning by character and action rather than by avowed teaching; and because its aim is didactic, care should be taken to keep its method dramatic. When it begins to preach, it has lost the distinctive quality of a novel without acquiring that of a sermon; it merely becomes dull as a work of amusement, without gaining in power and dignity as a treatise on philosophy or morals. In fact, it has the faults of a hybrid; and, like the famous sifter between two stools, falls to the ground for want of unity of basis. We have classed together two novels of very different degrees of merit, but with the same kind of mistake in each; being novels with a purpose where the purpose is made too evident, to the infinite damage of the story as a drama, and of the work as art generally. One of them is designed to set forth the beauty, value, and satisfactoriness to be found in the life of a celibate "priest" (Anglican), the other the delights which a maiden lady of middle age and scanty means may still enjoy in her quiet sphere. Now both these doctrines are true in their degree. It is quite right that a clergyman who has conscientious objections against marriage should be able to live happily without a wife; and it is also true that a maiden lady of limited income would find life still full of pleasure and interest through her sympathies with others, and by her small economies would be able to create a margin available for charity and well-doing. But to make either motive the groundwork of a novel, and to give a dramatic interest to the tale, requires considerable skill in the manipulation. And this is just what we do not find in any high degree in the one, or in any degree at all in the other. Nothing could be better or purer than the intention of both these novels; and parts of *Church and Wife* are smart and effective; but both are disappointing, and, we are sorry to add, one is insupportably tedious.

The author of *Church and Wife* is evidently an ardent Ritualist; and while conceding on occasions certain small non-vital ceremonies—as that his favourite priest should wear the black gown when in a stranger's pulpit, and omit "the invocation" before the sermon when preaching to an Evangelical congregation, though he keeps terms with his conscience by whispering it to himself—he is staunch as to doctrine, and brings his principles triumphantly through every ordeal. Of course the most formidable ordeal through which his hero has to pass is love, and the crucial test of his absolute rightness is the question whether he should give way to his natural inclination and marry, or remain single and faithful to his creed and cause. For neither the author nor his hero, the

* *Church and Wife: a Question of Celibacy.* By Robt. St. John Corbet, Author of "The Canon's Daughters." 3 vols. London: Tinsley Brothers.
The Lady of Limited Income. By the Author of "Mary Powell." 2 vols. London: Richard Bentley & Son.

Reverend Henry Briancourt, believes that a "priest" has any business with a wife and family, both holding that a celibate clergy would display greater holiness and spirituality than is to be found in a married priesthood, and that the care of his parish claims a man's whole time. The character of Mr. Briancourt is well sketched. He is the type of a certain class of Ritualistic clergymen; a man whose ideas of religion contain nothing gloomy or distasteful, whose very fasting does not include "eating hardships," and whose exuberant spirits and almost boyish jollity repel the strict Evangelical nearly as much as his vestments in church and his dress out of it. Tall, thin, angular but handsome, with frank and unaffected manners, high spirits, and many accomplishments, a man of the world, a gentleman, and thoroughly believing both in Christianity and the Church, he is a portrait to the life, and we would say taken from the life. His mother is a good blue-eyed Evangelical, whose greatest hope has been to see her younger son a clergyman, nicely married and settled, and preaching good Low sermons in the parish church; his elder brother is a noble, broad-shouldered sceptic; but he more than half brings the former over to his own views, while we feel that the latter is on the highway to become a devout Christian under the softer influence of Tillie Maurice, a young lady "as mild as moonbeams," whom his brother has first converted from Low Church to High, and made frantically in love with himself during the process. The broad-shouldered sceptic, however, changes all this, and puts a finishing touch to poor Tillie's spiritual and emotional manipulation by converting her to as ardent a love for himself the sinner, as she had formerly, and only so lately, felt for his brother the saint.

We do not pretend to understand much about young ladies' hearts, and that queer thing which goes by the name of love among them; but it strikes us as rather odd that both Bessie Horton and Tillie Maurice should have been able so quickly and so completely to pass through the fog of earthly passion, and rise into the purer atmosphere of spiritual affections. Both girls fall unreservedly in love with the priest; and he on his side falls in love with them, up to a certain point. But the whole thing hinges on this one phrase; and the point to which Henry Briancourt will not come is indulgence. He is fascinated by the beauty and intelligence, the grace and spirit and enthusiasm, of Miss Horton, who, while slightly "fast" in manner, and of the world in all personal and social characteristics, is also an ardent churchwoman and a good girl; and the domestic tenderness, the sweet simplicity, and the soft-heartedness of Tillie Maurice also touch him on another side. But he keeps himself well in hand; and gives out to both, on fitting occasion, that he holds to the doctrine of a celibate priesthood and intends to remain single. And as soon as they hear this both girls shake themselves free of their love fever; and, setting all their dreams and desires beneath their feet, mount up into that purer atmosphere of which we have spoken, and from love-sick maidens, dreaming of home and husband, become simply dutiful and affectionate daughters of the Church, spiritualized lambs, whereof Mr. Briancourt is the all-but adored shepherd. And both give the best possible evidence of their change of feeling; for Bessie marries the Duke of Alcester, a man whom she had refused once before when he was in the dark age dedicated to the turf and to youthful indiscretions of various kinds, but who has now come out into the light of grace and the nobler and more manly ambition of a senator; and Tillie dries her eyes and leans on the arm of her stalwart sceptic, whom she hopes to lead into the fold before long. Still we maintain that the change is sudden, that the power the girls have over their affections is remarkable, and that their conscientious scruples are more admirable than natural, if there is any truth in the instincts at all.

We have no doubt of the success of this book with the school to which it is addressed. The very things which we object to in it as a work of art, the sermons and disquisitions on Church principles, will please the readers for whom we may assume it to have been mainly written. No one, too, can fail to recognize the earnestness which pervades the whole story, the air of intense conviction which has put a soul into its dry bones, while there are clever and well-thought passages that would do honour to the most legitimate novel. The question is, however, how far a novel with a purpose is legitimate *quâ* novel; and whether, the purpose being granted so far, for the sake of argument, it should not be suggested rather than treated broadly and directly. The meaning of *Church and Wife* is all compressed into the title-page; for, after the second title, *A Question of Celibacy*, comes an axiom which begs the whole question and decides it—Punch's famous advice a little travestied; "To parsons about to marry—Don't." We cannot part with this book without a word of commendation of the characters. There is a freshness and naturalness about them not often met with. The girls are especially charming, more like life on the outside than most authors' girls, and the men are also real and individual. If the story is wanting in plot while it is encumbered by purpose, what there is of drama in it is nicely put, and Mr. Corbet writes like a scholar and a gentleman. The opening of the book is especially bright; but these are coruscations only, and coruscations, however brilliant, do not make a successful novel, as a critic counts success.

The good we have had to say of *Church and Wife* we are sorry not to be able to repeat of *A Lady of Limited Income*; for, save in its purity of intention, this is a book which has really nothing to recommend it. It is feeble and flabby, irritatingly

goody, and full of puerile bits of advice, like a lady's version of *Poor Richard's Almanac*. When Alured breaks a blood-vessel, Miss Beaumore, the lady of limited income, brings in a "sliced lemon slightly sweetened with sifted sugar." This, she says, is a styptic, the only one she has in the house; but Miss Partridge, her friend, improves the occasion, and when she comes, she gives "twenty drops of diluted sulphuric acid in a wineglassful of water." Elsewhere we are told that wet towels round the heads of reading men are apt to produce "palsy of the brain"; we are treated to a description of Alured's chamber gymnastics, which the quiet little household of Miss Beaumore takes to be an earthquake; and we know that the author intentionally makes her younger readers a present of the formula for their benefit when Miss Beaumore reckons up the household expenses with a view to retrenchment where possible, and, setting "a little pudding at eightpence or ninepence," decides that it is hardly worth while to strike the small luxury out of the domestic bill of fare, "and then more meat would be eaten." We take this as a hint to young housekeepers, probably not without its value, but scarcely of sufficient importance to warrant the writing of a two-volume novel. Also we may perhaps, in the interests of art, demur to the prominence given to the subject of eatables, from tea-cakes to strawberries, and to the foot-notes by which extracts or statements are referred to their sources. It is all too much like jalap smothered in jam for our taste. If we must have the jam, let us take it honestly, and solace ourselves with wry faces, if they will solace us; but, for heaven's sake, let us have our jam unmedicated and *au naturel*. Further, we would counsel the author of *A Lady of Limited Income* to put more life and "go" into her work than she has bestowed on the present story. Conversations are pleasant and profitable as a method of storytelling when well done; but they must be well done, else they are miserably tedious. In this book they are miserably tedious because they are pointless. The story is mainly made up of the most puerile incidents amplified by the weakest talk. There is no briskness, no life, no nature; we have a disquisition on loyalty and a panegyric on the Queen, a disquisition on ritualism, and the condemnation of a sister for her excesses, which seem to consist mainly in fasting, wearing a chaplet, and carrying an emblazoned Prayer-book. But we must confess ourselves incompetent to speak very distinctly of the second volume; for our patience gave way after the first, and we have only looked into it here and there. Life is very short, and its duties are many and heavy. We have failed to find the half-hour so worthless that it might be profitably employed in reading through to the end a book so weak and tiresome as this.

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